000

THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

(750-1951)

A contribution to the study of Power
Politics in the Persian Gulf

By

Abbas Faroughy, Ph.D.

Professor of Persian and Islamic History
Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes

An historical, economic, and geograhical
survey

VERRY, FISHER & CO., Inc.
New York

1951

1.

.43

THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

[facing page 3]

/

CONTENTS

000 INTRODUCTION 7

PART I: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE NAME 13
GEOGRAPHY 13
GEOLOGY 14
CLIMATE 15
POPULATION 18
TOWNS AND VILLAGES 19
ANTIQUITIES 26
EDUCATION 28
ECONOMY 29
PEARL FISHING 30
FISHING 38
TRANSIT SHIPMENTS 40
BAHREIN-U. S. TRADE 41
OIL 42
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES 46
CURRENCY 47
STAMPS 47
GENEALOGY OF THE SHEIKS OF BAHREIN 48

PART II: HISTORY

ANCIENT HISTORY 52
ISLAM 55
THE PORTUGUESE 61
SEFEVID 64
THE UTUB 69
19th CENTURY 75
20th CENTURY 94
Selected Bibliography 118
Appendices
1. Agreement of December 22, 1880 123
2. Agreement between the Sheik of Bahrein and British 123
3. Letter from Sheik of Bahrein 1914, regarding oil 124
4. Bahrein Nationality Law 124
5. Bahrein Government Proclamation, June 5, 1949 126
Index

[pages 2, 3 + 4 have no textual material]

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

INTRODUCTION

101 131 About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by *far* the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manâmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

103 In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

132 511 Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires

228 648 312 The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

648 175 The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

[6 blank]

618
175

They held them for some time, but finally lost them to the Persians, who with the help of the British, put an end to Portuguese domination of the Persian Gulf.

One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. Hardly had the Persians rid the Gulf of the Portuguese than they had to face British naval supremacy. At first the British did not seem to realize the importance of Bahrein and did not intervene actively until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, however, they have made up for lost time and Bahrein has become, to borrow Byron's picturesque expression, "a bundle of hay" with Persia trying to hold it and John Bull tugging "a different way." This diplomatic tug of war has continued ever since, and very recently the Persian government was directed by the Parliament to "take effective measures with a view toward implementing the Persian sovereignty over the islands."

In olden times Bahrein was a center of religious studies and produced great religious philosophers and mystics, as well as students of mathematics and the Arabic languages; but the general public was content with the Koran texts and Moslem catechism. The majority of the schools were part of the mosques and other religious foundations and were under their supervision. The beginning of the modern schools in Bahrein dates from the first World War. Among them were Persian schools supported by Persian merchants for the education of Persian children, but open also to the children of other communities. However, the Anglo-Persian controversy of 1930 over Bahrein resulted in the decision of the local government, encouraged by the British Ambassador, to create its own system of education independent of Persian influence. In the schools, as in other things, Bahrein followed the general pattern of Arabization of the Persian Gulf, and to this end adopted the Iraqi system of education.

The discovery of oil in 1930, and the granting of concessions to American interests, has singularly enhanced the historic importance of Bahrein and created a complicated international

problem. The protestations of the Persian Government and its 648
view of the concession as null and void, have broadened the 175
Anglo-Persian controversy to include the United States, and as a side issue have created an Irano-American dispute. Considering the location and the nature of the countries involved, this has dangerous potentialities, especially in the present state of international relations.

With the above in mind, the present book was written to 121
provide the reader with the minimum of facts essential to an understanding of the problems in this part of the world.

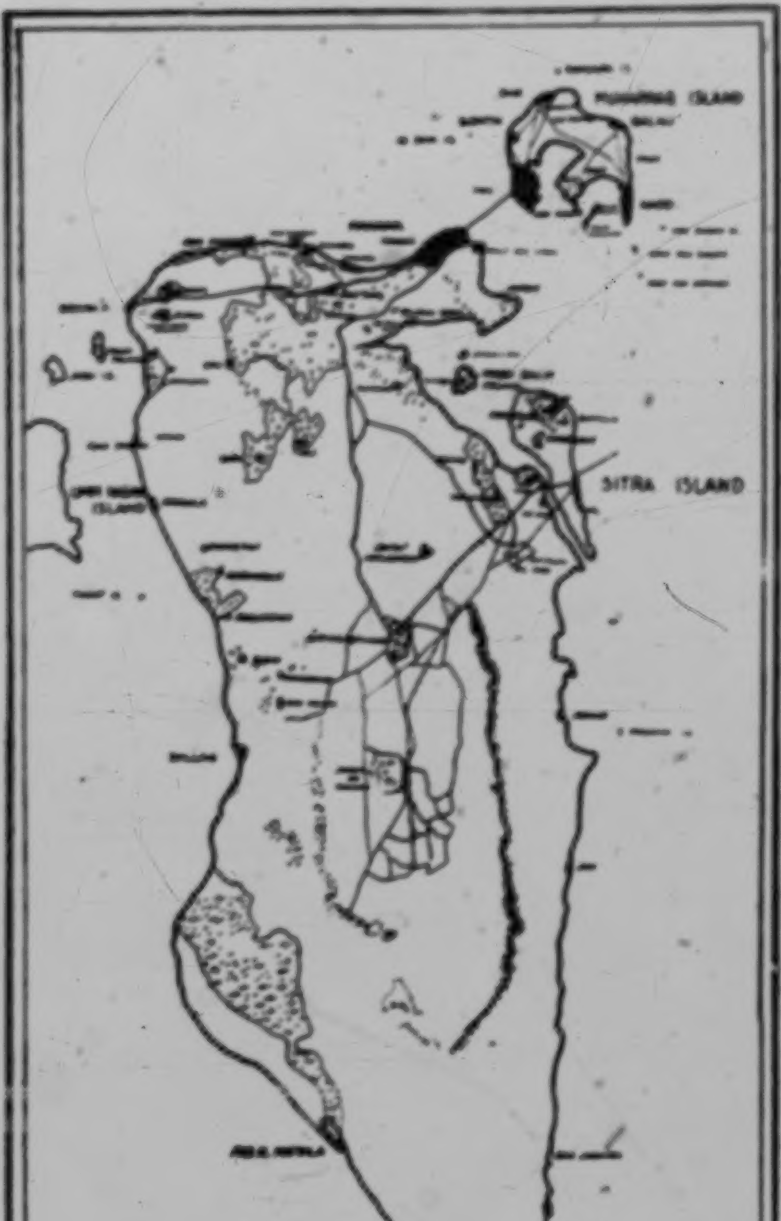
The author wishes to express his gratitude to Ali Aghassi OOD
for his scholarly suggestions and sincere and friendly encouragements, without which this work would have been impossible.

A. FAROUGHY.

New York, August 1950.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

102


MUHARRAQ ISLAND
SITRA ISLAND
BAHREIN ISLAND

FACING page 12]

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

THE NAME

103 "The name of Bahrein, which means 'Two Seas,' is derived, according to the natives of the country, from the existence of two strata of water located there. The higher film is extremely salty, whereas the deeper consists of sweet water with a very pleasant taste." So wrote Masoudi, the famous Arabian author.

Ibn Khallakan has a different explanation. He cites the Persian lexicographer Al-Ashari as follows: "Al-Bahrein ('The Two Seas') is so named because in the region where its towns are situated, near the gate of Al-Ahsa and the village of Hajar, there is a lake at ten parsangs distance from the Great Green Ocean [the Persian Gulf]. The lake is three miles long and as many broad. It does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and salt."

101 According to Al-Jawahari, the author of *Sahah,* the inhabitants are called Bahrani rather than the more usual form Bahri, because "the latter term might be misunderstood, having as it does another meaning, namely 'Belonging to the sea.' "[1]

GEOGRAPHY

131 The Bahrein Islands are situated at 26° latitude north and 50° longitude east on the southern side of the Persian Gulf. They are about fifteen miles from the main coast of Saudi

---

[1] Throughout this book, however, we shall use the modern designation "Bahreini" when referring to the people.

[pp. 10, 11, 12 have no textual material]

131 Arabia and somewhat closer to the Qatar Peninsula. Manama, the capital, is at 26°13′ north and 50°35′ east.[1]

The archipelago is formed by five principal islands and a number of smaller ones, of which only one is of real importance. It is variously called Awal,[2] Manama after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. Curiously shaped in the semblance of a sea horse,[3] the island is only twenty miles long and ten miles across at the widest point.

312 Bahrein would be totally uninhabitable if it were not for an abundance of fresh water (believed to come through channels under the sea bottom from somewhere in Arabia, probably the Tuwaik mountains) which supplies about two hundred springs and many artesian wells. It is likely that some of these springs were formerly under the sea, since the islands are surrounded by coral formations and in such places the sea always tends to become shallower and dry land to increase. In the northern part of the principal island the water is plentiful enough to produce luxuriant gardens and palm groves, and on the other islands irrigation farming is carried on extensively.

Fresh water springs are also found on the shallow ocean bottom. In former times the natives dived into the sea to collect drinking water in collapsed goatskins. Some water sellers used more scientific methods, however, sinking bamboo tubes to the level of the springs, then collecting the water as it rose above sea level.

GEOLOGY

133 Bahrein lies on a portion of the ancient Tethys geosynclinal belt represented today by the Persian Gulf. The formation of the principal island is the result of pressure from the mountainous masses of Persia against the crystalline platform of central Asia, the thrust being absorbed by a gentle folding in the

---

[1] The British Political Agency is at lat. 26°14′09.95″ N. and long. 50°35′00.39″ E.

[2] The etymology of the word *Awal* is "fish" or "whale."

[3] See map, back of book.

geosyncline. The structure of Bahrein is that of a large, single, closed dome covering the entire faulting. 133

Rocks exposed at the surface consist of:

1. Recent sands and coquinas forming flat, raised beaches surrounding the island from which the surface rises gradually to an elevation 150 to 200 feet above sea level. At this point it breaks away into inward-facing cliffs eighty to one hundred feet high completely surrounding an oval central depression about twelve miles long and four wide.
2. Pleistocene sands, cross bedded and probably wind deposited, lying in the canyons.
3. Meiocene silicious clay covering a very limited area.
4. Eocene limestone covering most of the island, the central region of which, known as "Jabal Dukhān" or "Mountain of Smoke," rises to a point 439 feet above sea level. The limestone is very porous and is the source of most of the water in the northern half of the island. [312]

Because of the coral formations surrounding the islands, the sea approach is shallow, so that only vessels of very light draft can land. Ships drawing as much as twenty feet anchor from two to four miles out in the Gulf, and those of greater draft from fourteen to seventeen miles out. Shallow boats are used for all transfers of passengers or freight, and the Standard Oil Company was obliged to construct a submarine pipeline three miles long to convey oil from Bahrein Island to its tankers. 133 503

CLIMATE

The Bahrein Islands possess one of the most trying climates in the world. It is intensely hot for about seven months of the year and the humidity stays near the saturation point. The annual average temperature is 78° F. with a corresponding relative humidity of 73%. The hottest month is August, when the mean temperature is 92° and between noon and 3 P.M. may 132

132 go as high as 109° — the hottest yet recorded. The coolest weather comes in December and January, with an average temperature of about 60°; the lowest ever recorded was 41° in January. From October to April the temperature ranges from 60° to 80°. There are only about three inches of rainfall during the year, all of it between the middle of October and the middle of May.

There are also seasonal winds. The *Shamal,* or Northwestern, blows for forty days beginning in June and returns to become very violent in January and February. At times the wind may reach a velocity of sixty miles per hour, accompanied by a great quantity of dust and sand from the Arabian desert.

The very hot wind known as the *Qaws,* or Southwestern, comes irregularly between December and April and is likely to blow for extended periods of time. It generally brings strong rain and violent squalls and for this reason has always been dreaded by the navigators of the Persian Gulf.

The following tables, adapted from the *Persian Gulf Pilot,* give the average monthly temperature and the velocity of the winds in the Bahrein Islands.

Table 1. METEOROLOGICAL TABLE*

Month	Mean Temperature (½ Max. Min.)	Relative Humidity %	Mean Rainfall (in inches)
January	61° F.	80	0.39
February	62	80	.67
March	68	77	.51
April	76	72	.24
May	84	65	.08
June	88	63	0.
July	91	65	0.
August	92	71	0.
September	88	73	0.
October	82	76	0.
November	74	78	.24
December	65	81	.83
Mean	78	73	(Total) 2.99

* Compiled from 12 years' observations.

Table 2. WINDS*

Month	Wind—Mean Velocity miles/hr.	Percentage of observations from								
		N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.	Culm.
January	5	13	3	4	6	10	4	24	34	2
February	5	19	5	4	10	7	3	16	32	4
March	5	19	10	8	10	8	8	13	23	1
April	5	17	8	9	7	9	9	16	25	0
May	5	20	10	6	3	2	5	20	34	0
June	5	21	3	3	1	1	2	22	47	0
July	4	16	2	3	3	2	7	23	43	1
August	3	16	6	8	9	6	7	18	29	1
September	3	22	3	10	6	4	7	17	28	3
October	3	17	11	7	5	4	4	19	33	0
November	4	15	4	6	8	9	5	22	29	2
December	5	13	3	4	6	7	3	25	37	2
Mean	4.2	17	6	6	6	6	5	20	33	1

* Nine years' observations. Height above sea level, 18 feet.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

POPULATION

161 The total population of the islands was estimated in 1930
162 at 120,911,[1] of whom 120,656, or 99.8%, were Moslems.[2] More than 100,000 are Baharinah, that is, members of the Shiite sect of Persia, who live mostly in the villages. The rest of the native population are either Sunnites of the Malekite sect or members of the Wahabite faith of Nejd, the principal faith of Saudi Arabia. Among the Sunnite community the most numerous are the Huwala tribe, who are residents of Manama, Muharraq, and Badaiya'a. They are engaged mostly in trade and pearl fishing. The Utūb, to which the local Sheik belongs, the Sādāt, and the Dawasīr are the most influential politically.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the inhabitants in 1930.

Table 3. Moslem Population

Tribes, etc.	Sunnites	Shiites	Total
Utūb	55,000	——	55,000
Bahārinah	——	45,000	45,000
Negroes	11,000	——	11,000
Huwāla	——	2,500	2,500
Persians	100	2,000	2,100
Arabs of Qatif and Hasā	2,000	——	2,000
Dawāsīr	2,000	——	2,000
Arabs of Iraq	200	300	500
Sādāt	400	——	400
Hindus	130	20	150
Turks	6	——	6
	70,836	49,820	120,656

---

[1] The eighteenth census, taken during the war for the purpose of distributing ration coupons, gave a population of approximately 90,000. Since then this number has been augmented and the present population is estimated to be about 105,000.

[2] The Moslem population was estimated in 1897 at 68,000.

161
162

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

Hindus	150
Jews	50
Syrians	60
British	10
Assyro-Chaldeans	5
Total	255

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

Tribe	Race	Sect
Utūb	Zuzara Arabs	Malekites
Bahārinah	Iranians	Shiites
Dawāsir	Arabs of Nejd	Sahabites
Huwāla	Arabs of Persia	Sunnites

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are: 36

Bahrein Island

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

---

[1] Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

103

361 bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

362 713 Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

164 548 The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their [273] leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

164 The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below. 361 692

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned. 361 162

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed [312] water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharinah, [245] is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

---

[1] See below, p. 99.

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of [491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Ali is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate [312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an elevation [491] eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected by a modern highway also built by the company.

000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

Capco has some [illegible] hundred homes, for married members of the oil company staff and others are under construction. In 362 addition there are office buildings, bachelors' quarters, a club, 365 an eighteen hole golf course, a restaurant, and a new, completely air conditioned hospital for the native employees of the company. All homes and living quarters and most of the commercial buildings are connected with three central air conditioning plants where water is chilled to a temperature of forty-five to fifty degrees Fahreinheit then piped underground to each building, where it is circulated through grilles. In the winter heat is furnished by circulating hot water in the same manner. All drinking water in both the refinery and camp is distilled.

The other villages of importance on the west coast, reading 361 from north to south, are: 103

Huwar—Located close to the coast of Qatar.
Hamala.
Damistan.
Karzakkan.
Malikiya.
Sadad.
Shahrakan.
Dar Kulaib.

On the east coast, from north to south, the important villages are:

Jufar.
Ghuraifa, with a loading terminal and a nearby military seaplane base with anchorage facilities and limited refueling service.
Silhat.
Kuwara.
Sanad.
Nuwaidrat, near the refinery. It has palm groves and is an important center of native trade, where most of the local employees of the oil company live.
Ma'amir, a small village located on the canal separating the island of Sitra from Bahrein.
Farsiya.

Muharraq Island

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 162 633 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the second largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 162 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 712 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. 508
There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, 712
and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are: 101

Sitra, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, 162
which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of 361
the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

Nabbi Sālih, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

Umm Na'san, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller 101
ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east 162
these are:

Khasaifa.

Jardi.

Saya, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

Abu Mahir, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the 712
island erected for the defense of the water source which 312
formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

8

101
162 formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabitants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHĀHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashāikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

ANTIQUITIES

172 The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders away from the main structure. It is impossible, however, to determine the height of the walls or rings because of the many centuries of torrential rains which have intervened and the probable theft of materials by later tomb builders.

Since 1878 there have been at least six attempts to establish by excavation the identity of the people who built these curious structures. In 1898 the British Museum dispatched Bent to work on the mounds but up to 1906 only three had been opened. In later years Colonel Prideaux worked on sixty-seven of them and Ernest Mackey on thirty-four, and quite recently thirty more were examined by P. B. Cornwall. The early explorers probably looked for writing of some kind but no traces have been found. Furthermore, as the result of dampness, the salinity of the soil and the ravages of insects and rodents, the condition of bones and artifacts is extremely poor. There is some pottery but it seems to have been intentionally broken, perhaps as part of the burial ceremonies, for only a single jar has been found in its original state. There are a few articles of ivory and bronze, heavily damaged by water and salt. Finally there are very faint traces of what may have been textiles and wooden articles. Many tombs contain the bones of a ram or sheep, pointing to animal sacrifice.

There seems to have been no fixed custom in the disposal of the remains. The body was placed sometimes on its side, sometimes in a niche cut in the stone wall. In many cases the bones were scattered about or mixed with those of sheep or other animals, while elsewhere they were collected in neat heaps. Careful study of all the findings has produced nothing to support any conclusion except that the burials are very ancient. The picture is that of an unknown primitive group with somewhat inconsistent burial customs.

The varying treatment of the bones, according to a suggestion made by Petrie, may indicate that in some instances the remains were brought to Bahrein from the mainland in accordance with a custom that was fairly prevalent in the Orient. Moreover, it has been noted that all of the tomb entrances face

172 southwest toward Arabia[1] — an indication that it was from there that the people originally came. The existence of similar tombs along the Arabian coast tends to support this hypothesis. Finally, for what it is worth, there is an Arab tradition that the tribe of Thamud, driven out of Yemen and across the desert, found a home on the island of Bahrein about the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Attempts to date the Bahrein tombs by the nature of the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence. The finding of a jar that resembles a Babylonian jar of 2500 B.C. must be weighed against the finding of bronze weapons dating from 1500-1200 B.C. It is possible that future explorations of the thousands of tumuli will yet supply an answer to the riddle, but the meager results obtained from the examination of 134 of them can hardly be called encouraging.

EDUCATION

658 The Bahrein government decided in 1934 to engage a number of Iraqi teachers for its schools. Iraq had done all in her power to attract the emirats of the Gulf into her orbit, and by 1934, when the British and Persians were fighting over the question of sovereignty over Bahrein, Iraq had made known her intention of creating a consulate in the island and establishing a school for the children of Iraqi subjects residing there. This was an effort to compete with the Persians, who since the end of World War I had conducted a school, "Tarbiat," founded originally for the education of Persian children but open also to children of other communities.

871 658 875 Bahrein today has nine elementary and one secondary school, the latter founded in 1940, and one school for girls, opened in 1939. The program of study of the Iraqi schools was adopted. At the end of 1937, a group of fifteen Syrian teachers were engaged by the government to teach in the newly founded schools. In 1940, the government engaged six Iraqi teachers to

---

[1] According to Cornwall W.25°s. is the most frequent reading: were they oriented toward Mecca?

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received 871
from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the 658
Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of 875
the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly 204
newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its 207
publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of 517
political and literary matters were established in 1935 under 575
the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

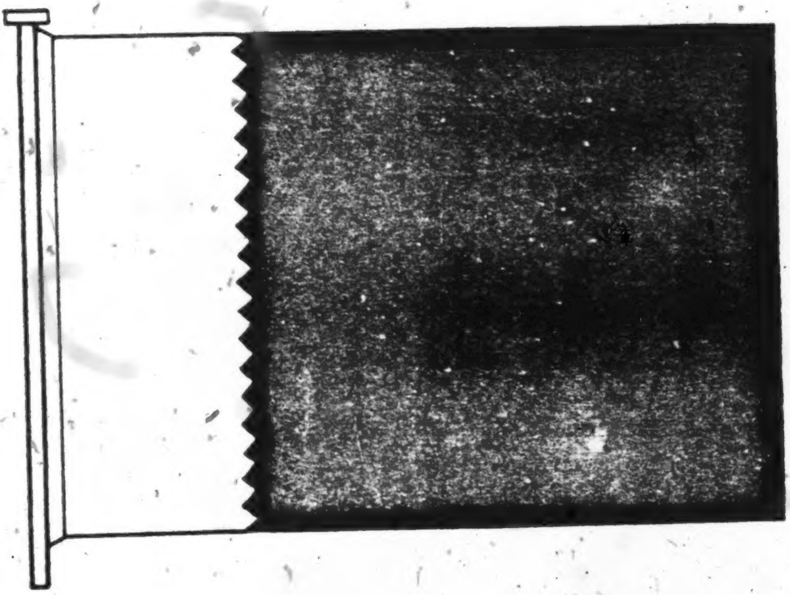
ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of 311
the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and 312
the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or 245
captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

186



FLAG

The flag of Bahrein is red with a vertical white bar next to the staff

[facing page 29]

245 Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the [252] United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

313 The economic value of the date palm does not stop with 314 the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

2511 Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, 286] the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed [231] mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

463 The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

PEARL FISHING

433 The chief source of income of the islands before the discov- 228 ery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

---

[1] Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

pearl found in the 1929 season was sold to one of the four 4|33
leading dealers for 1,500,000 francs, or about $75,000.[1] The 228
industry at times has produced as much as $8,000,000 worth of pearls, to which should be added about $100,000 in revenue from mother-of-pearl shell which is highly valued in the Western world, though of less interest to Orientals. The real profits, however, begin with the Arab and Hindu dealers in Bombay, whence the pearls are shipped to the jewel markets east and west, at each exchange acquiring a greater value and thus ministering to human ostentation.

The Big Four among the pearl dealers were formerly the Houses of Rosenthal, Pack, Mohammad Ali and Bienenfeld, all of Paris,[2] but after the beginning of World War II the market moved to Bombay.

The banks that are fished most often are the shallow waters of the Arabian coast and those that lie between the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh parallels north, and the fiftieth and fifty-fifth east. The most famous are situated between the islands of Sir Beni Yas and Shiltaye.

The pearl may be described as the result of a kind of "occu- 000
pational disease" of the oyster, which in opening its shell to obtain food often takes in gritty particles which cause irritation. Nature provides a remedy in the form of a secretion that covers the offending particle with a smooth coat of nacre. Once started, the process continues indefinitely, each year adding to the size of the pearl which results. Many kinds of molluscs of both fresh and salt water varieties produce pearls of some kind, varying greatly in shape, size, color, and commercial value. The most prolific of the pearl producing oysters in the Gulf, the *Mahharahs,* grow to about two inches in diameter, and are collected when three years old. Large pearls are called "Unions"[3]

---

[1] We are not far from the time of Pliny, when the price of Indian and Arabian pearls was second only to that paid for the *adamas,* or diamond.

[2] It is reported that some Gulf pearls sold to Cartier were purchased by the Duchess of Windsor for $20,000, and a single pearl of the same origin was finally sold to Barbara Hutton for $15,000.

[3] Cf.: If all the world were but one ring
Ormuz should the union bring.

000 because there is generally only one in a shell; small ones are called "Margaritae" from the Persian *Marvarid*.

The stones come in many colors and shades—white, yellow, gold, pink, azure, blue, green, gray, black—and unsual colors add greatly to the value. To avoid damage, care must be taken in handling the oyster after it is taken from the water. It must not be forced, but allowed to open of its own accord. If the oyster opens before the water has run out of the shell the pearl will be at its best; otherwise the stone is likely to be yellow in color and of less value.

Pearl fishing can be traced back to remote antiquity, though apparently there is no connection between the early pearl fishers and the mysterious tomb builders of the central island.[1] Jules Oppert, the German orientalist, claimed to have found references to pearl fishing in cuneiform tablets from Nineveh, but Megasthenes was perhaps the first classical author to write about it. References are also found in Ptolemy and in Pliny, who wrote: "Opposite Gerrha is the island of Tylos; it is famous for the great numbers of its pearls and has a town of the same name." There are later references in Masoudi, the ninth century Arab geographer, Rabbi Benjamin Tudela in the twelfth century, and Ibn Batuta in the fourteenth.

In more modern times Ludovico de Varthema, or Barthema, described the fishing methods used when he visited the islands in 1508 and stated that often as many as three hundred little boats could be seen in operation at one time. His description shows that there has been little change during the centuries that have passed.

When Jan van Linschoten, the Dutch traveler, visited the island in 1590, he found that there were often as many as 40,000 persons employed in fishing, useing methods like those recorded by Varthema in his diary.

> "This fishing . . . is done in the Summer time, and there passeth not any yeare but that divers Fishers are drowned . . . and many devoured by fishes, so that when the fishing is done there is a great

---

[1] See above, ANTIQUITIES.

and pitiful noyse and cry of women and children heard. Yet the next yeare they must do the same work againe, for that they have no other means to live." 000

There are many reasons for the importance of the pearl trade, and as with other jewels, a wealth of legend and superstitution has grown up around this gem. On account of its mysterious origin and formation, men have always attributed a mystical value to it. In the Book of Revelation[1] the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem are said to be of pearl, and in European religious tradition the pearl symbolized Jesus. The Church, therefore, from the earliest times, used the stones in enormous quantities and believers followed the example of their priests.

The Hindus bought pearls for quite different reasons. To them it was a symbol of purity, and all Hindus, however poor, had to pierce a pearl during the marriage ceremony.[2] After the ceremony the pearl which had been pierced was reduced to powder to be consumed during the honeymoon, or made into a love potion for later use. Since it was not the Hindus alone who regarded the pearl as an aphrodisiac, the medical "science" of the Middle Ages later provided a large market in Europe as well as in Asia. Even today stimulants are sold which are claimed to be the same mixture of powdered pearl as that given by Cleopatra to Caesar, with its happy result, Caesarion.

Women in the East also make use of the pearl in attempting to gain a husband, for there is a common belief that a maiden may rub her eyes with a pearl and thereafter by merely gazing at a man may make him her slave.

In addition to ceremonial uses, pearls have been used extensively in all lands and in all times to decorate clothing, in jewelry, and in objects of art. The Roman ladies "quite gloried," as Pliny put it, in having pearls "suspended from their fingers or two or three dangling from their ears." The affection of the patricians for pearls gave rise to the Roman saying that "a pearl

---

1. Rev. 21:21.
2. Cf. this verse by the Persian poet Sadi: "Thou whose hand trembleth, how shall thou pierce a pearl?" The trembling of the hand is, of course, a symbol for growing old.

000 worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her."[1] With or without lictors, however, no woman neglected to display her jewelry. Lollia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caligula, is said to have been wearing at an informal "bethrothal" party emeralds and pearls valued at forty million sesterces. Pliny adds maliciously: indeed she was prepared at once to prove the fact, by showing the receipts and acquittances.

Later centuries saw the pearl trade expand, and at Bahrein as many as three thousand boats were used annually in pearl fishing, employing nearly half the population of the islands. Little by little the pearl lost its glamor, and with less demand has declined in value. At the end of the last century a very fine quality pearl the size of a pea could be purchased for around a pound sterling. Vanitas vanitatis.

228 If the market has fluctuated in London or Paris, nothing has changed in this "Sea of the Changeable Winds" since the time of the Assyrians, and the diver of the Persian Gulf today dives from the same kind of boat and in the same way his ancestors did many generations ago. The pearl fishing boats (*Mahaila*), product of local labor, have long been standardized. They range in size from one to fifty tons and carry a single sail and mast, though a few are equipped with a small motor which turns a toy-like propeller. The small boats keep near home but the larger ones sail about freely in the Gulf, often for weeks at a time, as long as their supply of water holds out. The crews vary from fifteen to twenty men.

The diver's traditional equipment consists of a basket to hold the oysters, a rope with a stone attached to carry him down and another to pull him up, a leather clothespin-like contrivance or a forked bone to close his nostrils, ear stoppers of beeswax, and leather sheaths to protect his fingers and big toes. The Persian merchants tried a few years ago to persuade the divers to adopt modern diving equipment, including helmets, but the protest was so great that the Sheik outlawed its use.

---

[1] The honor of being preceded by a lictor was reserved to members of the imperial family.

The diver puts his foot in a loop in his rope and goes down 228 with the weight of the attached stone. When he has gathered as many oysters as he can, he gives a signal and the basket is pulled up. The stone follows, and last of all the diver, who by this time is not infrequently dead.

The average dive is about eight fathoms, and fifty seconds is the usual time under water, though it may be as long as three minutes. There are numerous accounts of much longer submersions, but it is impossible to fix the point where truth ends and romance begins in these tall tales. In any case, though the diver may come up more dead than alive, he is expected to make trips at five or six minute intervals, that is, diving fifty to sixty times in a single working day. Ten to twelve oysters is a good average for one dive.

It is little wonder that the divers are plagued by a multitude 229 of occupational diseases. At the outset, suffocation is a constant 164 danger. To protect their skin against rotting, the divers take the precaution of rubbing in an astringent called *Zift* (pine resin) every night before retiring. Every diver suffers from earache, and water pressure ruptures the eardrums of many of the men so that deafness is common. Water pressure also may break the blood vessels of the lungs, and the diver often comes from the water bleeding from the nose and ears. Sooner or later because of the pressure and salinity of the water many divers go blind. Bad teeth, rheumatism, and neuralgia are common, as well as the more serious acute bronchitis and heart trouble, to say nothing of the risk of being killed or maimed when attacked by dangerous fish. However, even divers who have lost an arm or a leg, or have been blinded, often continue to work.

It may not be out of place to recall here the beautiful verses of Matthew Arnold and to add "if the diver has a hut":

> *"And dear as the wet diver to the eyes*
> *Of his pale wife, who waits and weeps on shore,*
> *By sands of Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf;*
> *Plunging all day in the blue waves, at night,*
> *Having made up his tale of precious pearls,*
> *Rejoins her in their hut upon the shore."*

1

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

511 The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their
[342] physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for
228 themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance
through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take
profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the
season. In the best diving season—from June to September—
the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities;
but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds
seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to
keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates
[525] of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the
pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

511 Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in
228 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep
465 an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers,
[651] the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set
wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain
has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided
among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much
as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The
second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits
(i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He
is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because
he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

228 The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard,* begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

work harder than in the summer. Between the *Ghaws al Bard* 228 and the great season, or *Ghaws al Kabir,* is the period called *Kanchi-yah,* which lasts about two weeks. Then the fishing season *par excellence,* the great *Khaws al Kabir,* begins at the end of June, after the season of the northwestern wind, and lasts until the middle of October. This period is inaugurated by a proclamation of the Sheik setting the dates of the opening and closing of the season. The two week period of *Raaba* follows and finally, with the coming of cold weather, the *Mujannah,* a period of indefinite length, when fishing is carried on mainly in the shallow coastal waters.

There are two methods commonly used to finance the diving. 228 452 The best known is for the captain of the boat to borrow money from a merchant on shore in order to advance the men's wages and equip and provision the boat for the season. At the end of the season, after the pearls have been sold, the loan is repaid; the captain takes one-fifth of the profits, and the remainder is divided among the divers and haulers. Since the captain charges interest to the men on the money he has advanced, their pay is quite small and they are constantly in debt.

Another and more efficient system has little by little begun to replace the one just described. The shore merchant, as before, finances the expedition but charges no interest. In return, he has the right to purchase the pearls at 20% below the prevailing market rate and also to collect a share of the profits equal to that of five divers.

Bahrein has long had to compete with the pearl fisheries of 228 Ceylon, but much more serious, at least until the outbreak of World War II, was the invasion of the market by the Japanese growers of cultured pearls. The cultured pearls can be told from "natural" ones only by means of delicate X-ray and specific gravity tests and differ essentially only in the way they are produced. The oysters are grown in beds and irritating objects are inserted in the shells to force the formation of the pearls. The contrast in method is essentially that between agriculture and random hunting for food in the forest.

228 Because of the vastly more economical methods involved in the production of cultured pearls, the Japanese industry threatened to flood the market, and not only brought down the cost of the pearls but also dissipated some of the glamour which has been for so long associated with them. As a result of this competition the fisheries of Bahrein began to suffer and the income of the Sheik to decline. In turn, however, royalties from oil concessions in some measure supplemented his income.[1]

FISHING

226 [262] Fishing is a major occupation of the Bahreinis and an important source of income. Cooked with dates, onions, and a small quantity of rice and barley, fish, fresh or salt, constitutes the national diet of Bahrein. Indeed, fish which have been dried in the sun form the staple food of the majority of the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, not only of human beings but of dogs, horses, and camels. Besides the local use of fish, there is also a flourishing trade between the Gulf regions and Mauritius, India, and elsewhere in salt and dried fish, shark fins, fish scales, and fish oil.

The most important fish found in this region are:

Cuttlefish, or sepia octopus (*Tankah* or *Khatak*). Eaten in large quantities by the Arabs, who consider it a great delicacy. It is also the most popular bait for hook and line fishing.

Muraena (*Metut*). Known in Oman as *Kasha.* A small fish-like eel which, dried in the sun, is used as human food, feed for horses and cattle, and as fertilizer.

Porpoise (*Dukhs* or *Dughs*). The oil is used for commercial purposes.

Rock Cod (*Hamam*). Found in shallow waters.

Sardine (*'Oom*). Caught in enormous quantities and used both for food and fertilizer.

Scad, or horse mackerel. (*Sewah*). Salted in large quantities for both home consumption and export.

Seer fish (*Kan'ad*). The *Shirmahee,* or Indian Salmon.

---

[1] See below, p. 45.

Salted for export to Mauritius, India and elsewhere. Very abundant.

Shark (*Jurjur* or *Yuryur*). The dried flesh is known as Awal. Sharks are caught in large numbers and are very profitable. The dried fins and tails are exported to Bombay for re-export to China, and the flesh is used as fertilizer. It is eaten by the Arabs, who believe it to have aphrodisiacal properties; the Shiites do not eat it.

Shrimp (*Rubian*). Caught usually in March, April, and May. They are eaten either salted and dried in the sun, or steam-boiled.

Skate and Ray (*Tabak*). Very plentiful. Both fish are eaten by the Sunnites, who believe them to be aphrodisiacs; the Shiites do not eat either of them.

Turtle (*Hamas Gheylam*). The most common species is the Hawksbill. Another, the Carapra, is exported as tortoise shell. The flesh and the eggs are eaten by the Sunnites.

White Pomfret (*Zobeydre*). A plentiful fish, which makes excellent eating.

Barracuda (*Kút*), tunny (*Ghobart*) and ground shark (*Sus*) are also abundant.

The most important fishing seasons are from February to June, and from the end of August to November; during the great pearl diving and date producing seasons, fishing occupies a less important place. Nets, stakes, baskets, hook and line, and spears or harpoons are all used by the Bahreini fishermen, and instead of live bait, a peculiar kind of weed is used. A brief description of each technique follows.

The *net*. Various types and sizes are used. Some are stationary and are gathered in when the tide is out; others are taken out in boats and dragged along, scooping up whatever fish come along. One of the most popular type is the *saliyah,* a circular net weighted with lead, which is cast from the fisherman's shoulders in shallow water, then drawn up by means of a string attached to the center.

The *stake,* or *hadrah,* is a trap constructed usually of palm

226 branches tied together with a string. It is fixed upright by means of ropes and stones and is set out near the shore or on banks which are dry at low tide, with the opening facing landward. At low tide the fish left stranded in the trap are collected.

The *basket,* or *gargur,* is usually constructed of palm branches, split bamboos, or twigs, with funnel shaped holes opening inward in such a way that the fish, once in, cannot get out again. The basket is weighted with stones, and five or six are placed near together in deep water, connected by a stout rope, the last basket with a rope and buoy attached. They are left for two or three days before they are pulled up and the fish removed.

TRANSIT SHIPMENTS

439 Bahrein is an important center of distribution for the commerce of Nejd and Qatif, and a trading place for merchandise from Persia and India. In fact, the islands re-export a third of all imported merchandise, including rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, cattle for slaughter, and pearls from other parts of the Gulf. Trade is carried on principally with India, the Arabian coast, Persia, and Iraq. In 1928 the total value of transit shipments exceeded £3,000,000.

651 439 The customs is an important source of income, and the customs office is controlled by a British Director of Customs. General merchandise, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of 1861, is subject to a 5% ad valorem tariff and luxury items are taxed 10%. Included in the category of luxuries are: carpets, bicycles, clocks, watches, electrical appliances, motor cars, tires and tubes, typewriters, and perfumes. Alcohol, tobacco, and cigarettes are taxed 15%.

There is no general tariff on exports with the exception of hides and dates, on which the duty is ten rupees per bundle of hides and two rupees per basket of dates. A duty of 2% is charged on all goods re-exported to Saudi Arabia, and 1¾% on those re-exported to other countries on the mainland.

439 Principal imports besides agricultural products are: broadcloth, cotton, woolen and silk goods, and wood, which is used

in the making of boats, houses, and other construction. A special permit is required to import arms and ammunition; alcoholic liquor is restricted, and cultured pearls forbidden. 439 [656]

The following table shows comparative figures on Bahrein imports and exports from 1941 to 1947. Figures are in rupees.

Table 6. **IMPORTS**

Product	1946-47	1944-45	1943-44	1941-42
Rice	35,82,420	13,45,370	9,67,870	32,48,800
Wheat	51,96,490	45,40,270	62,38,560	96,410
Wheat flour	41,960	8,22,380	17,88,220	7,67,420
Coffee	18,49,240	6,63,900	11,51,820	3,61,630
Dates	10,78,740	10,24,820	19,64,820	2,17,420
Sugar	9,48,580	15,14,500	11,28,170	7,74,190
Spices	——	——	7,05,050	——
Tea	13,54,330	26,11,210	——	5,50,260
Cotton piece goods	32,31,060	48,00,250	35,20,260	——
Silk piece goods	——	——	18,350	20,70,680
Cement	——	——	34,280	90,100
Other building materials	——	——	670	1,09,110
Woolen piece goods	9,13,440	1,21,000	——	——
Cigarettes	13,80,680	——	——	——
EXPORTS				
Pearls	6,76,290	7,37,890	4,79,720	2,53,510
Sugar	9,31,020	11,89,710	20,20,440	5,58,410
Tea	13,10,890	14,73,500	2,16,080	3,58,100
Wheat flour	——	5,34,930	14,21,810	4,21,700
Cotton piece goods	9,10,970	32,69,390	24,94,070	23,19,420
Rice	3,74,440	3,01,960	1,07,710	22,81,880
Wheat	22,76,390	25,00,860	29,97,480	59,130
Silk piece goods	——	——	7,650	——
Coffee	——	——	——	1,01,550

BAHREIN-U. S. TRADE

In 1931 the United States ranked fifth among countries importing goods from Bahrein but in 1933 she began to play an important role in Bahrein trade. The chief factor in bringing this about was the holdings in Bahrein oil by American interests through the Bahrein Petroleum Company.

439 In 1944 U. S. imports from Bahrein amounted to $30,859, most of which was classified in Group 9 (Miscellaneous) by the Department of Commerce. Of the total imports the New York Customs District received $27,551, or almost 90%. The total of the exports to Bahrein from the United States in the same year was $12,369,647, of which lend-lease materials accounted for $293,786.

The following table shows the principal articles which Bahrein imported from the United States for the year 1944.

Table 7. IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES—1944

Item	Value (in U.S. Dollars)
Animals and Animal products	323,846
Vegetables and Vegetable beverages	320,318
Vegetable products (except Wood and Fibers)	155,188
Textile fibers and manufactures	104,808
Non-metallic minerals	545,221
Metals and manufactures (except Machinery)	3,823,521
Machinery and Vehicles (Electric pumps, Engines)	5,434,105
Chemicals and Related products	1,023,226
Miscellaneous	188,129

OIL

471 The oil concession on Bahrein Island is held by the Bahrein Petroleum Company, which is Canadian registered but owned by American companies, 50% by Standard Oil of California and 50% by The Texas Company.[1]

315 After a geological survey the company began drilling in 1931 in the Jabal Dukhān region, and oil was discovered in June 1932 at a depth of ~~2,009~~ feet.

382 By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. At that time more than 10,000 acres had been proved oil bearing and potential production was estimated at 20,000

---

[1] For a detailed account of the history of oil development in the Persian Gulf, see History, p. 103.

barrels a day. At present there are sixty-seven producing wells each with an average output of 432 barrels a day.[1] Previously, in February 1932, the company had started the construction of a marine loading terminal with three miles (19,000 feet) of twelve inch pipeline leading from the small island of Sitra out into the harbor.

On the same island, construction was also begun on three crude-oil working tanks with floating roofs, with a capacity of 250,000 barrels, and on 7,500 barrel tanks for ships ballast water. At present, thirteen oil lines varying in size from six to eighteen inches connect the shipping tank farm on Sitra Island to a deep-water pier. Recently a new four-berth wharf situated in six to seven fathoms of water was added to the original two-berth island wharf and connected to the shore by a two-way-lane causeway and trestle. Using both wharfs, six tankers can be accommodated at one time, with a possible loading rate of about 5,000 barrels per hour.

In November 1934 Standard Oil announced the erection of a refinery to the terminal requiring a fill, or trestle, 1200 feet long. A drawbridge was built across the channel between Sitra and Bahrein, and the refinery went into operation in July 1935.

The yearly production of crude oil increased from 902 barrels in 1932 to 1,264,807 in 1935, more than 7,309,135 in 1945 and 8,009,925 in 1946.[2] Production of crude oil for 1947 amounted to 9,410,710 barrels, an all time high, bringing the cumulative total of oil produced through 1947 to 87,965,025 barrels. The 1949 production amounted to 10,985,484 barrels.[3]

---

[1] Compare with 440,000 oil wells in the United States averaging 11.5 barrels a day each.

[2] Oil production of Near Eastern countries (in thousands of barrels), according to the *World Oil Atlas*, June 1947, was as follows:

Country	1944	1945	1946
Bahrein	7,000	7,308	8,009
Saudi Arabia	9,000	21,310	60,340
Iran	102,000	127,407	144,890
Iraq	29,000	31,349	32,777
U. S. production	1,678,000	1,712,000	1,732,000

[3] One barrel = 42 U. S. gallons.

382 The Bahrein refinery had been conducted for several years in a balanced crude oil distillation, thermal cracking and refinery operation. Because of the strategic location of the fields, the Petroleum Administration for War recommended in 1942 the erection of a 5800 barrel aviation gasoline plant on Bahrein. In April 1943, the American-British Petroleum Board approved an expansion program which included the building of a new crude distillation unit to raise the total crude intake capacity of the refinery by 33,500 barrels a day. The building of a reformer and additional tankage were authorized in December 1943, to provide an additional 700 barrels a day of aviation gasoline and increased production of 80-octane gasoline, Navy Diesel oil, and Navy Special fuel oil.

Building of a 100-octane refinery started early in 1944. The new crude oil unit went into operation in November of the same year, and the alkylation unit and catalytic cracking plant in March and April of 1945 respectively. A construction force of 750 Americans and 4,000 Bahreinis was engaged on the project for a period of eighteen months. Bechtel-McCone of San Francisco were engaged to design a substantial portion of the equipment; Universal Oil Products Company of Chicago designed the fluid-type catalytic cracker and reformer, and Chemical Construction, the acid manufacturing and acid recovery plants. The final cost of the project, originally estimated at $18,430,000, amounted by June 1945 to over $27,650,000; it was financed by the RFC through its Defense Supplies Corporation.

The output of the plant consists at present of 100-octane gas, 67 to 80-octane motor fuels, illuminating kerosene, power kerosene, Diesel oils, and fuel oils. By the end of 1947 the refinery was processing crude oil at the rate of 145,000 barrels per calendar day, double the rate of 1945.

Since the crude oil production of Bahrein is about 30,000 barrels a day,[1] the refinery receives the rest, some 120,000 barrels, from Saudi Arabian oil fields through a twelve inch, thirty-four mile pipeline. The pipeline, which was completed March 2, 1945, is under water for almost two-thirds of its length, (23.6 miles), making it the world's longest commercial submarine pipeline. During 1947 an additional twelve inch pipeline was hooked up to the portion on land bringing the total capacity to 126,000 barrels per day. To provide more flexible operations, a new 55,000 BPCD atmospheric crude unit is scheduled to be completed in the fall of 1950. However, an increase in throughout capacity (56,059,700 in 1949) is not anticipated. 382

---

[1] Daily average production for December 1949 was 30,310 bbls. against 29,986 bbls. in December 1948.

At the end of 1947 the oil company employed 6,078 persons in the islands. The Bahreinis numbered 4,650, or 76.5% of the total. The rest were 11.6% British; 10.5% British subjects, Indians and Iraquis; and the remaining 1.4% Americans, Canadians, South Africans, and Europeans. Of the last, half were Italians.

The oil company pays to the Bahrein government a royalty of 3 rupees 8 annas plus 1 shilling per long ton. There is no taxation. The revenue which was to be returned to Bahrein from oil concessions amounted in 1945 to more than 26 lakh of rupees, or approximately $780,000, almost half of the total revenues of the Sheikdom.[1] For the year 1949, the amount of "oil royalties" was evaluated at $1,200,000. One-third of the royalties go to the Sheik and his family and the remaining two-thirds, to a fund held in London in the name of the Government of Bahrein. 651

In 1945 the Bahrein Petroleum Company estimated that its consolidated net profit for the year, after taxes and all other costs, would come to approximately $10,500,000. No dividends were declared during the year, earnings being applied to further expansion of operations. Profits in 1946 were estimated at $23,000,000. This was on a total investment of probably not more than 65 million U. S. dollars.

---

[1] The total revenue of Bahrein amounted in 1944 to Rs. 55,90,000.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 The unit of measure employed in Bahrein is the *Dhrā,* equivalent to a cubit, or 19 inches. 4 Dhrā=1 ba', or fathom (6 feet, 4 inches).

The chief weights are:

Habba			1	grain, Brit., U.S.
Mithqual	—	70 Habba	70	grain, Brit., U.S.
Bar	—	10 Mithqual	700	grain, Brit., U.S.
Ruba	—	40 Bar	4	lbs. avoirdupois
Man	—	14 Ruba	56	lbs. "
Rufa	—	10 Man	560	lbs. "

Before the adoption of the new standard the Mithqual had a weight of 72 grains, corresponding in the Persian scale of weights to 24 *Nokhods* of 4 grains each (1 Persian grain = 0.75 Brit., U.S. gr.). Correspondingly, the Ruba was equivalent to 4.114 lbs. However, if the weights have "shrunken" in the operation, the Bahreinis have had the consolation of seeing their Dhrā grow a quarter inch.

In the pearl trade two units of weight are used, one real and the other nominal. By the former they are weighed, and by the latter they are sold. The real weight is the Mithqual, as shown in the table, corresponding to 70 U. S. grains. The nominal weight is the *Chow,* corresponding to 0.212 U.S. grains. The table of equivalents is as follows:

1 Mithqual — 330 Chow
1 Chow — 4 Quarters — 100 Ducra
1 Quarter — 25 Ducra

The general rule for reducing the real to the nominal weight is as follows: Multiply the square of the number of Mithquals by 330 and divide the number of pearls, the quotient being the number of Chows.

If M represents the number of Mithquals, and n the number of pearls, the formula

$$\frac{330M^2}{n}$$

gives the number of Chows.

804 The Chow is also used as the nominal weight in Bombay by the pearl traders, but the Bombay Chow weighs only one-fourth the Bahrein.

CURRENCY

436 Indian money is the national currency. The rupee, a silver coin about the size of a United States half-dollar, is the basic unit and is worth about thirty cents, its sterling equivalent being 1s. 6d. The rupee is divided into 16 *annas* (sing., *anna*).

Other silver coins are:

Half rupee = 8 annas
Quarter rupee = 4 annas
Eighth rupee = 2 annas
Pice = ¼ anna
½ Pice = ⅛ anna

Copper coins less than one anna in value are also in circulation. There are 12 pies to an anna, or 192 pies to a rupee.

Indian paper currency is also in general use.[1] Besides the rupee the Persian *rial*[2]; (about $0.29), the Saudi Arabian *riyal*,[3] the Maria Theresa Thaler, (about $.45), and the Turkish pound, or *lira*, (about $3.60), are also in limited use.

STAMPS

205 Up to 1947, the stamps of Bahrein were the old stamps of British India, with the word "Bahrain" over-printed across in black ink.[4] However, since the division of Indian colony into Dominions of India and Pakistan, the stamps used in Bahrein are those of United Kingdom with the word "BAHRAIN" and values in rupees over-printed in black ink. The Sheikdom has [648] adhered to the International Postal Union and its membership in that organization is the only international agreement signed by Bahrein.

---

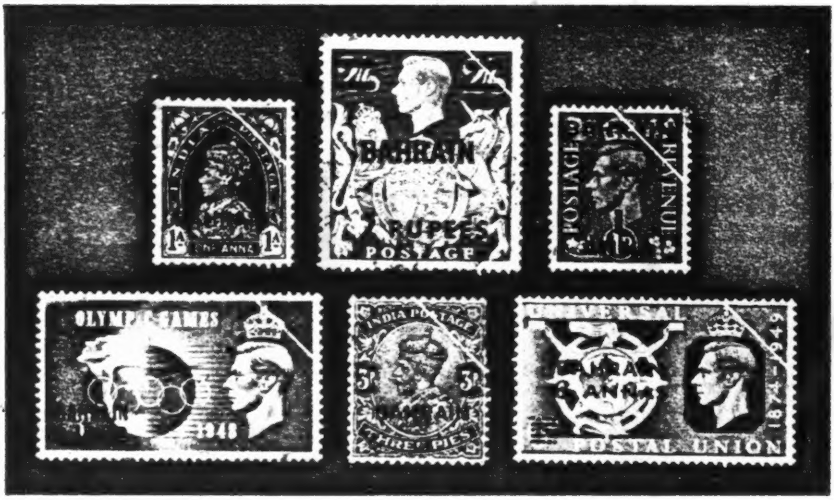
[1] One hundred thousand rupees is called a *lakh*, and is written Rs. 1,00,000.

[2] The Persian rial is fixed by the law of 1932 at a value of 0.07322382 grammes of gold.

[3] The Saudi Arabian riyal was declared in 1940 to be equivalent to the Indian rupee.

[4] The British and American differ in spelling the name of the island. Throughout the book we have followed the American use.

205


INDIA POSTAGE
1A
ONE ANNA
BAHRAIN
RUPEES
POSTAGE
POSTAGE REVENUE
OLYMPIC GAMES
1948
INDIA POSTAGE
3P
BAHRAIN
THREE PIES
UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION
BAHRAIN
3 ANNAS
1874-1949

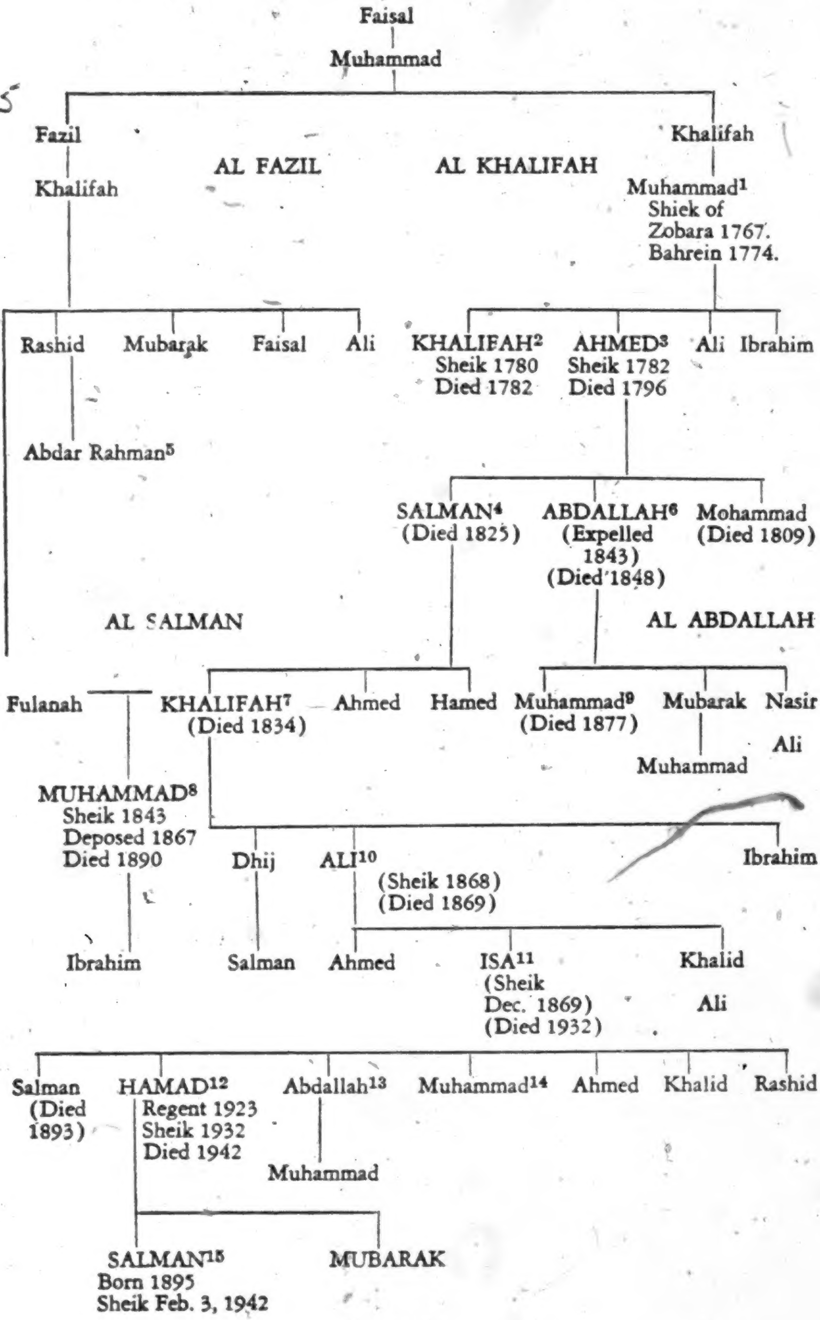
STAMPS OF BAHREIN

[facing page 47]

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

175

GENEALOGY OF THE SHEIKS OF BAHREIN


Faisal
Muhammad
Fazil
Khalifah
AL FAZIL
AL KHALIFAH
Khalifah
Muhammad[1] Shiek of Zobara 1767. Bahrein 1774.
Rashid
Mubarak
Faisal
Ali
KHALIFAH[2] Sheik 1780 Died 1782
AHMED[3] Sheik 1782 Died 1796
Ali
Ibrahim
Abdar Rahman[5]
SALMAN[4] (Died 1825)
ABDALLAH[6] (Expelled 1843) (Died 1848)
Mohammad (Died 1809)
AL SALMAN
AL ABDALLAH
Fulanah
KHALIFAH[7] (Died 1834)
Ahmed
Hamed
Muhammad[9] (Died 1877)
Mubarak
Nasir
Ali
Muhammad
MUHAMMAD[8] Sheik 1843 Deposed 1867 Died 1890
Dhij
ALI[10] (Sheik 1868) (Died 1869)
Ibrahim
Ibrahim
Salman
Ahmed
ISA[11] (Sheik Dec. 1869) (Died 1932)
Khalid
Ali
Salman (Died 1893)
HAMAD[12] Regent 1923 Sheik 1932 Died 1942
Abdallah[13]
Muhammad[14]
Ahmed
Khalid
Rashid
Muhammad
SALMAN[15] Born 1895 Sheik Feb. 3, 1942
MUBARAK

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

LEGEND

1. Moved from Koweit to Zobara and became Sheik about 1767. Ruled Bahrein for the Governor of Bushir, 1774. Died at Makka 1782. 175
2. Sheik of Zobara, 1789.
3. Sheik, 1782. He is called the "Conqueror."
4. Ruled jointly with his brother Abdallah.
5. Chased the Wahhabi from Bahrein with the help of Persian recruits, the expedition being financed by the Iman of Mascat (1810).
6. Ruled jointly with his brother Salman, then with his nephew Khalifah and his son Muhammad. He chased the latter from Bahrein in 1842 and ruled alone for 9 months. Expelled from Bahrein by Muhammad in 1843, he died at Mascat in 1846.
7. Ruled jointly with his uncle Abdallah.
8. His mother was the sister of Mubarak ibn Khalifah. Chased from Bahrein in 1842, reestablished himself Sheik in 1843. Deposed by the British in 1867, he returned to Bahrein after the defeat of his brother in 1869, where he ruled for three months. After the British intervention he was exiled first to Bombay, then to Makka where he died in 1890.
9. He continued his father's war against Bahrein. In 1859 he was declared a public enemy and expelled from Damman by a British force. In 1869 he declared himself for Muhammad ibn Khalifah, then put him in jail and declared himself Sheik. Deported by the British shortly afterwards, he died at Chunar in 1877.
10. Became Sheik after the flight of his brother from Bahrein. Treated with the English who recognized him as Sheik. He was defeated and killed in the war with Muhammad in 1869.
11. He was declared Sheik by the British at the age of 21 in 1869. His mother was the daughter of Isa ibn Tarif, Sheik of Kish and of the Al Ibn Ali tribe. Isa was "persuaded" in 1923 to relegate his power to his son Hamad.
12. First as his father's Lieutenant 1923, then as Sheik after the death of his father in 1932. He died of a heart attack in 1942.
13. On February 1, 1915, he was decorated by the Viceroy of India at Koweit and received the Cross of the Order of the Indian Empire.
14. Visited the United States in 1939 and was the guest of President Roosevelt at Hyde Park.
15. Present Sheik was born in 1895. He became Sheik on February 3,

[pp. 50 and 51 contain no festival material]

ANCIENT HISTORY

175 According to Arab tradition the inhabitants of Bahrein belong to the tribe of Thamud, who, driven out of Yemen at the beginning of the second millenium B.C., crossed the desert and settled in the islands.

Recent archaeological discoveries, however, show that in the second or third millenium Bahrein was already inhabited by a people of tall stature with mesocephalic heads. In Babylonian inscriptions we find the island of Tilmun, or Dilmun, mentioned, along with the corresponding Sumerian term *Nituk-Ki* ("The Place of Taking Oil"). Records show that Sumerian ships visited the island from earliest times, buying dates, bronze, spices, wood, etc., and place the island in the middle of the Lower Sea, or Persian Gulf. That the island of Tilmun, or Dilmun, is probably identical with the island of Bahrein has been demonstrated by a number of orientalists.

We know that Tilmun was the capital of an important empire ruled by a king called Uperi, who had extended his authority throughout the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. The annals of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) tell us that Uperi, King of Dilmun, "who has his abode in the midst of the sea like a fish . . . brought his gifts"—meaning that he recognized himself vassal of the Assyrian King. This submission does not seem to have lasted long, for Bahrein soon became independent, or perhaps recognized the authority of Babylonia—the records are not clear. The terrible destruction of Babylon in 689 B.C., "the dust of which reached Tilmun" (being sent by Sennacherib as a "reminder") filled the islanders with such terror that they hurried to send tribute and submit themselves again to the Assyrians. Since that time Bahrein has followed the political destiny of Mesopotamia and Iran. In 538 Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus the Great, and Persia became the paramount power in this part of the ancient world.

With the rise of the Persian Empire and the extension of its maritime commerce, Bahrein, because of her strategic position, became a Persian naval base. The far-ranging Persian vessels, making for the ports of India and the Red Sea, used to take on fresh water from the springs of the island. With the fall of her empire, however, Persia's maritime power disappeared and the inhabitants of the Gulf were left to themselves. 175

The wealth of the Gulf Regions, acquired through a flourishing commerce, attracted the Arab tribes of Yemen, who were searching for *Lebensraum* to the north. The great Persian historian, Tabari, places the earliest arrival of these tribes in Iraq near the time of the last Parthian Kings of Persia, that is, toward the beginning of the third century A.D. They came from the regions around the Red Sea—from Hejaz and Yamama,[1] the capital and most important city of which was Hajar—and from the province of Bahrein at the border of Iraq.

The Arabs were stopped temporarily in their northward march by the Parthians. However, the might of the Persian kings began to decline following their incessant wars with Rome and a period of internal trouble, and the Arabs once more moved northward and established themselves in Iraq, where they founded the little kingdom of Hira.

Al Isfahani, the chief authority on Arab folklore, tells the story in the following way:

> The emigrants from Yemen, with Malik, his brother Amr and their nephew Zuhair at their head, invaded Bahrein, which they took from the Nabataeans, who then ruled it.
>
> Before the invasion, however, they consulted the famous sibyl Kahina (or Zirka), the sister of Malik. The woman prophesied: "This place will be for you a *tannukh* (station) until there comes a raven with rings on its feet. It will sit on a palm tree and fly off croaking. Follow it." The people therefore took the name of *Tannukhites.* Little by little, other emigrants joined them. After they had sojourned several years in Bahrein there appeared a raven with rings on its feet which sat on a palm tree, then flew off croaking *Hira, Hira.* The Tannukhites, remembering the prophetess, set out after the bird, which led them toward Iraq. On the way to the conquest of new lands Malik founded the city of Hira, which later became the seat of an important Arab principality, tributary to the Persian Empire.

---

[1] According to the Arab geographer, Yakut, this province was formerly called Jawa. During the Middle Ages a town of that name existed on the mainland and the little village of Jau on Bahrein Island still bears the name.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

175 From Tabari we learn that at the time of the founding of the Sassanian dynasty (early third century) the King of Bahrein, called Satirun, had entrenched himself in a fortress. Following his conquest of the countries around Fars (the province of Persia proper), Ardashir sent an army into Bahrein and after a year's siege took the fortress, seized its treasure, and returned with it to Persia. The Crown Prince, the future Shapur I, was given the regency over the reconquered territories. Following this conquest, the Persians founded the city of Batn Ardashir (Bīt Ardashir) on the coast of Khatt opposite the island of Bahrein, and constructed canals for the city.

In the early part of the fourth century, during the minority of Shapur II (309-325), Arab tribes from Bahrein, which at this time comprised Hasa and Qatif, and Yamama, raided Persian territories and sacked the Port of Rām Ardashir (Rishahr), near the present-day Bushir. The Persian army, under the command of Shapur, attacked and massacred the Arabs in large numbers. Some of the survivors took refuge in Mesopotamia, while those from Bahrein retired to their own country. Wishing to get hold of the Bahreins, Shapur embarked with his army, landed at Qatif and put them to the sword in great numbers. He seized Hajar, exterminated the greater part of the tribe of Abd al Kais, wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Bajila Khatham, and fell upon the Tamim. He ordered his men to pierce the shoulders of the captives, tie them together with ropes, and bring them to him. This treatment earned for Shapur the nickname in Arabic of Dhu'l Aktāf, or Lord of the Shoulders.[1] Bahrein again became a dependency of Fars and later was annexed to the dominion of the Kings of Hira who ruled these regions as vassals of the Persian emperors. Once again, the island of Bahrein followed the fate of the Arab mainland, and it is interesting to note that the famous Arab poet, Tarfa, who came originally from Awal (the ancient name of Bahrein Island), was put to death about 560 by the Governor of the island on orders from the King of Hira.

---

[1] According to Hamzah of Isfahan, the Persians gave him the title of Hūya Sunbā from huyā (*shoulders*) and sūnba (perforated).

Soon thereafter, the failure of the collectivist experiment (Mazdakism) in Persia created a strong tendency to a more centralized form of administration, and the Persians took a direct hand in the affairs of the Gulf. They reorganized their fleet, garrisoned several places along the coast of Arabia, including a number of the cities of Oman, Yemen, and Ethiopia, and reoccupied the positions they had formerly lost or abandoned. Under the guidane of Cosroes the Just, who was a great lover of the sea,[1] the Persians undertook successfully the exploration and discovery of the African coast and the island of Madagascar. The province of Bahrein, with its capital at Hajar, became the newly created Satrapy of Mazun and was governed by an Ispahbad (Marshal) of the Empire. Bahrein Island, the capital of which was then at Shirin, or Darin, became an important naval base and a port of call for the Persian ships which (probably making use of the compass), were trading with Ceylon and the Orient, or the eastern coasts of Africa. 175

This situation lasted until the rise of Islam in 622 A. D.

ISLAM

The year 8 of the Hijra (630 A. D.) is recorded in the annals of Islam as the Year of Deputation, for it was at this time that Mohammad sent representatives to various sovereigns of the ancient world to invite them to become Moslems. Among those who answered the Prophet's appeal was Jarud, the chief of the powerful Christian tribe of 'Abdal Kais, who visited Medina, accepted Islam, and was sent to Bahrein to carry the Prophet's message.

At this time, the civil administration of Bahrein was in the hands of local chiefs and princes who paid tribute, and the Persian viceroy had charge of military affairs only. Jarud, accompanied by Ala, the envoy of the Prophet, succeeded in converting to the Moslem faith the Satrap of the province, and a number of Persians, as well as several tribal chiefs, notably the Prince of Hajar. However, much of that prosperous community, composed mostly of Jews, Christians, and Hindus, refused to be converted and agreed instead to pay tribute, which was fixed at one dinar per capita.

---

[1] Procopius tells us that in the year 540 A.D., when the King reached Saleucia on the Mediterranean coast, "he bathed himself alone in the sea water."

The newly made Moslems submitted to the payment of the *dime* and undertook their new religious duties. These, however, were apparently difficult to conform to and perhaps were stricter than the people had anticipated, for less than two years later, upon learning of the death of the Prophet, most of the Arabs who had adopted Islam renounced it and apostasized. In order to cut all political ties with Medina, they elected as their king a descendant of the Kings of Hira, whose surname was *Al-Ghurur* ("Conceited").[1]

The majority of inhabitants, the Zutts, Hindu halfbreeds with Negro and aboriginal mestizo mixture, joined the insurgents and seized Hajar, the capital. The position of the tribes which had remained faithful was becoming untenable. Then Alā, at the head of troops sent by the Caliph, invaded the province and, after a bitter struggle, succeeded in putting down the rebellion and pacifying the country. The young king, who actually had played a puppet rôle, was taken prisoner. He saved his life by adopting Islam, but lost his throne and also his nickname, for he was known thereafter as *Al-Maghrur* ("the Dupe").

Except for having to pay tribute, Bahrein seems to have suffered little in the war. The tribute which was levied is said to have been the enormous sum of 500,00 dirhams. To enable the Caliph to comprehend the size of this amount, we are told that it was described to him as "one hundred thousand, five times." The possession of Bahrein was of the greatest value to the Arabs, and the armies of the Caliph used the island as a springboard in their invasion of the southern provinces of Persia.

Following the assassination of the third Caliph and the coming to power of the Omayyads, a large party of rebel Khawārij found refuge in Oman and Bahrein, preparing the way for the Karmats. Under the Omayyads, Bahrein was separated from the province of Iraq and was governed from Basra. In spite of their very severe administration, the Omayyads seem to have had many partisans in the province who stood by them at the change of dynasties. 175

---

[1] The arabic root *Gharr* also means "to deceive."

In 750 Abul Abbas ("The Shedder of Blood"), founder of the dynasty of the Abbasides, entrusted the government of Basra, together with its dependencies of Bahrein and Oman, to his uncle, Suleiman, to whom he gave the task of driving out the refugee Omayyads. Bahrein was reconquered and again paid tribute. In the year 160 of Hijra (782 A. D.), the government of Fars, Ahwaz, Bahrein and Oman was given to Muhammad, son of Suleiman. Seven years later these same regions were under the governorship of the famous Yahya, the Persian, vizier of the Caliph Mahdi and the tutor of Harun ar-Rashid. The government was held by the family of Yahya until their disgrace in 798, when the Caliph decided upon a stronger personal rule and the hegemony of the purely Arab element. However, the authority of the Caliphs of Bagdad was never consolidated, and Arab chauvinism hastened the disintegration of the Empire. By the end of the ninth century they had lost even their control over the Arabian Peninsula, and Bahrein became the dominion of the representatives of the Shiite sect, the Karmats, whose rise to power began at this time.

In 899 the Karmats seized Hasa, bordering the Persian Gulf, and a short time later, Hajar, which they renamed al Mu'minya ("The City of the Faithful"). They initiated customs at Bahrein and forced all vessels that traded in the Gulf to go there to pay the *dime*.

In 930 the Karmatian chief, Abu Tahir, in an audacious raid pillaged and profaned the holy city of Mecca and took with him to Bahrein the famous Black Stone, which according to tradition was brought to Abraham by the angel Gabriel. The stone remained in Bahrein for twenty-two years until in 951, in return for a large ransom, it was restored to its rightful place at Mecca.

To enforce their customs regulations, the Karmats raided

175 and destroyed a number of the cities of the Persian littoral. These expeditions provoked a war with the Bowid dynasty of Persia, whose army was able to occupy Oman and a great part of the southern coast of the Persian Gulf and drive the Karmats out. But the latter, though terribly weakened, succeeded, despite Persian efforts, in maintaining themselves at Hasa. When the Moslem traveler, Nasir Khosrow, visited the Gulf in 1050, Hasa and the island of Bahrein belonged to six Karmatian chiefs, who ruled it jointly with their six advisory ministers. The capital of Bahrein was even then an important city. Date plantations flourished and pearls were fished, half of the pearls found going to the chiefs.

Serious trouble resulting in the fall of the Karmats began on the island of Bahrein shortly after the visit of Nasir Khosrow. The Bahreinis refused to pay additional taxes demanded by the Karmats, and revolted. Their leader, Abul Bahlul, defeated the Karmat forces and declared himself Emir of the country. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, however, for in 1076 the island became a tributary of Yahya, a chief of Qatif on the mainland of Arabia.

It was at this time that the expeditions of the Seljoucids took place, resulting in the complete annihilation of the Karmats. The disappearance of Karmat power left the chiefs of the little tribe of the Uyunis[1] as masters of Hasa. Abdallah, the founder of this dynasty, conquered Bahrein in 1081 and his heirs assumed the powers of the family of Yahya.

These new conquerors, like their forerunners, did not long remain in power, for they were forced to recognize the sovereignty of the rulers of Kish, who policed the Gulf in the name of the Caliph.

The little island of Kish (or Qais) had belonged since the twelfth century to a local dynasty of merchant origin, the Beni Kaisar, who had extended their influence over the coast of the Persian Gulf, and whose fleet controlled the trade with

---

103 [1] The Uyunis took their name from the district of Uyun, in the north of Hasa. *Uyun*, which means "the springs," is so called because of the large number of springs (nearly four hundred) that water its date plantations and fields.

India. The Beni Kaisar paid half their income to the Caliph of Bagdad, who maintained a fiscal agent at Kish. 175

Idrisi, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, tells us that although Bahrein was governed by an independent chief, the Governor of Kish was "entitled" to collect taxes on the pearl fishing in the island. He speaks of the capital city as well populated, with fertile outlying regions producing abundant grain and dates. There was also a flourishing trade in guano, which was both exported to Mesopotamia and used as a fertilizer for the palm groves.

By now, the Persian Gulf, which was the natural passage for the transport of goods from India and the Far East, had become the principal artery of traffic between the merchant cities of Europe and Asia.

If the size of the Jewish population of a city is an indication of its commercial importance—as it invariably was in the Middle Ages—then the ports of the Persian Gulf must have been extremely prosperous. The Jewish merchant, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Spain, who visited the Gulf about 1171, estimated the Jewish population of the city of Qatif alone at 5,000. The majority of the Jews were traders, and the greater part of their commerce was in pearls, fished in and near the island of Bahrein. Sixty years later Ibn Mujavir speaks of Bahrein as an important commercial center. At that time the island included more than three hundred sixty villages, inhabited by "fanatical Shiites."

It was about this time that the dynasty of Kish fell. Briefly, the events attending its fall were these:

The tribute of Kish was sent to the treasury of Fars and the authority of the sovereign of Kish came from the Sulgharids who ruled that Persian province. With the ascendance to the throne of Abu Bakr Kutluk in 1226, the sovereign of Kish refused to pay tribute, or to renew his submission to the throne. Abu Bakr, having no fleet, allied himself with the King of Hormuz, another little merchant kingdom of the Gulf and a commercial rival of Kish, in the hope of reducing the rebellious kingdom.

175 In return for his aid, the King of Hormuz was promised sovereignty over Kish and its dependencies, notably Bahrein, on condition that he pay to Abu Bakr two-thirds of the revenues of those territories. Hormuz agreed, and placed its fleet at the disposal of Abu Bakr.

In the naval engagement which took place, Malik Sultan, the ruler of Kish, was killed (May 9, 1229) and the island fell into the hands of the King of Hormuz. Thus the latter was able to avenge the terrible fate that had befallen Hormuz when Malik Dinār, with the help of the rulers of Kish, had pillaged the coast of the Gulf in the year 1190.

Once in possession of the island, the King of Hormuz refused to carry out his agreement to pay two-thirds of his revenues to Abu Bakr. The latter was able to use the fleet of Kish which had just returned from India, and recaptured the island in 1236. The same year Bahrein Island was taken and annexed to the Province of Fars. Seven years later he extended his rule to the peninsula of Qatif and annexed the neighboring regions to his dominion. The local sheiks recognized themselves vassals of Abu Bakr and promised to live in peace with one another. In return they received an annual subsidy of 12,000 gold Dinārs paid to them by the treasury of Fars. After these victories, Atabak added to his already pompous titles of "Heir to the Kingdom of Salomon, the Justice of the World, the Glory of the Faith and the Earth," the words, "Sultan of the Land and the Sea."

After the death of Abu Bakr (1261), his kingdom fell prey to disorders, and the Mongol Emperors of Persia decided to participate more directly in the administration of the province of Fars, and the province soon lost its special political status. Beginning in 1290, the Mongols "farmed out" the government of Kish and its dependencies to the brothers Tībi, in return for a fixed annual revenue of 70,00 gold dinārs and 200 *man*[1] of the pearls fished on the island. The prosperity of the commerce of the Gulf at this time was so great, that in the six year period from 1291 to 1297, revenues from the region are said to have been more than ten million gold dinārs and 1,500 man of pearls.

---

[1] A man weighs between five and six pounds (avoirdupois).

175

This state of affairs lasted until 1320, when Izzed-Din Tībi was executed by order of the Mongol Emperor, Abu Sa'id, and the power of the family curtailed. For fifteen years Bahrein and the other ports of the Persian Gulf were farmed out or paid direct tribute to the Treasury of Fars. On the night of December 1, 1335, the Emperor Abu Sa'id was poisoned by his vengeful Queen—he had paid too much attention to her rival—and the assassination was the signal for a general disintegration of the Mongol Empire. The King of Hormuz, Qutb ed-Din Tahmtan, invaded and annexed Kish, Bahrein, and its dependencies of Qatif and Kalhat on the coast of Oman. For the next 260 years Bahrein was ruled almost without interruption by the Kings of Hormuz (themselves tributary of the Persian Empire), and followed the fate of Hormuz even after its invasion by the Portuguese in 1515.

THE PORTUGUESE

The entrance of the Portuguese on the scene changed the status of the Gulf and complicated the political situation of Bahrein. The Kings of Hormuz, though they still paid allegiance to the Persian Empire, became in fact Portuguese vassals. This curious situation was the result of the Shah Ismail's negotiations with Albuquerque, in view of contracting a military alliance against the Turks. Persia, engaged in a mortal war with the Ottomans, was unwilling to create new conflicts on her southern borders. Furthermore, the Court of Tabriz was hoping that the Portuguese fleet in the Mediterranean would engage the Turks to relieve their threat on Persian provinces. Indeed, it was not the right time to antagonize the Portuguese. However, despite their promises, the Portuguese did nothing to help the Persians, and finding the Persians busy, they installed themselves at Hormuz. Their domination of the Gulf continued for more than a century.

The acquisition of Hormuz was justly valued by the Portuguese, who had a saying that if the world were a ring, Hormuz would be the stone. The pearl trade of Bahrein which, through Hormuz, was carried on principally with Europe and with Surat, in India, was valued at this time at more than £3,000,000 yearly. A sixteenth century Portuguese writer tells us that the isand of Hormuz paid to Persia an annual tribute of 80,000 "patacas" (piasters).[1]

The conquest of Bahrein, however, was not undertaken immediately and it was only in 1521 that a Portuguese expedition, under Antonio Correa, landed for the first time on the island.

The Governor of Bahrein in person commanded his troops, which included a detachment of four hundred Persian archers and several musketeers. In the engagement which took place, the Governor was wounded and a few days later died. Correa intercepted the Bahreini vessel which was transporting the body of the slain chief to the mainland and, recovering the corpse, cut off the head and carried it back to Hormuz. This exploit caused the King of Portugal to issue an edict authorizing Correa to add a king's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of Bahrein after his name.

Portuguese historians boast of the conquest of Bahrein, but in reality it was a "commando" operation, having as its principal aim the destruction of the Bahreini fleet. Even in this, the Portuguese were not wholly successful and the Bahrein fleet escaped destruction.

The Bahreinis were soon to revenge themselves by the massacre of the Portuguese garrison to the last man and by hanging the commander from a palm tree. They continued in their relationship with Hormuz and paid tribute to that kingdom, which, of course, was under the authority of the Portuguese. When in 1529 the Portuguese deported Rais Sharaf, the vizier of Hormuz, to Portugal, the Bahreinis revolted and refused to pay the annual tribute, and the Portuguese failed to establish themselves in the islands.

---

[1] This is equivalent to sixty million rials.

175

The position of Portugal in Hormuz, and especially in Bahrein, was precarious indeed. Insurrections occurred with astonishing regularity, and almost yearly. In this connection, the scarcity of information left by the Portuguese historians concerning Bahrein is significant. Aware of their military weakness, the Portuguese were satisfied with holding Hormuz and never really intended to occupy Bahrein permanently. Despite the erection of a factory and a fortress, the ruins of which still stand near Manama, their authority was more nominal than real, and the role played by the "capitan" was probably not very important. Even in the defense of the fortress on Bahrein, the Portuguese relied to a great extent on the good will of the Persian forces. For example, when in 1559 the newly formed Persian Gulf units of the Turkish fleet attacked Bahrein, Rais Murad, the Governor of the island, asked for and obtained the help of the Portuguese vessels from Hormuz, but the victory was achieved only when a corps of 300 Persian soldiers was brought into action.

In 1585 the Portuguese repaired the fortress of Bahrein but their power was declining. In 1602 the Persian elements in the island revolted against the Portuguese rule and called in the Persians, the coup d'etat being organized by Rokn ed-Din Mas'ud, brother of the Vizier of Hormuz and a distant relative of the Lord of Fāl, Mu'in ed-Dīn. A corps of Persian arquebusiers, under Mu'in ed-Dīn, invaded the island and reduced the Portuguese garrison.

As soon as victory was assured, the forces of Rokn-ed-Din treacherously attacked their Persian allies and the situation seemed serious, when Persian reinforcements which had been delayed en route reappeared before the island. The forces of Rokn-ed-Din were beaten and he himself seized and executed. Now the Persians had to face another menace, for the Portuguese had landed in force.

In the course of operations the Persian general was wounded and afterward died, but the Persian forces succeeded in recapturing the fort and holding the island against several attempts by the Portuguese and Hormuzis to recover it. The Portuguese continued to protest verbally but, being unable to interfere militarily, they were unwilling, merely for the sake of Bahrein, to disturb the new cordiality of the relations between Persia and Spain, and face alone the power of the Turks, who were a real threat in the Mediterranean. In 1622 the island of Hormuz itself was taken over by the Persians, who put an end to the Portuguese domination.

SAFAVID

Despite manifestations of energy from time to time, the bell had tolled for Portugal's maritime power and she soon had to concede her place, first to the Dutch and then to the British. The power of the latter began to equal and later to surpass that of all rivals, and the English fleet became the only one with which the inhabitants of the Gulf had to reckon.

The eclipse of Portugal and the fall of the kingdom of Hormuz created a new situation in the Gulf. In the absence of a Persian fleet, the dependencies of Hormuz were left alone to become independent and each local sheik to aspire to power. Among those who profited by the decline of Hormuz was Nasir, who made himself Imam of Mascat in 1624. He succeeded in imposing his authority, drove the Hormuzis out of Sohar, and extended his dominion over a large part of the country, creating a new political entity: Oman.

Nasir was not yet strong enough to challenge the Persian power and he hurried to submit to the Court of Isfahan. Gradually, as his successors grew more and more powerful, Mascat was taken from the Portuguese, and the forces of Oman challenged the latter even in their own colonies.

The Omanis showed themselves still more enterprising with regard to the Persians. In 1700 the island of Bahrein was attacked and taken by the forces of Imam Seif. They were, however, unable to keep it for long, and they revenged themselves by systematically interrupting Persian navigation, maltreating Persian subjects, and plundering the towns of the Persian littoral. Since Persia had no fleet of her own to cope with this danger, she had to rely upon whatever help she could get from the European companies trading in the Gulf. However, these companies were not especially eager to help Persia recover Mascat, or to consolidate her naval supremacy.

In 1707, a Persian envoy, Mirza Nāsir, was sent to Bombay and another mission was prepared to visit Batavia. The English, "knowing well that if the Dutch complied with the Shah's request they would undoubtedly obtain a preference in the Persian market" did all in their power to forestall it. The English agent in Persia was instructed to "promise that as soon as the war in Europe should cease, a naval force would be sent to operate against the Mascat Arabs." The promise had the desired effect, and the Shah's intended deputation to Batavia was never dispatched.

In the meantime, the trade of the Persian Gulf was left to the fancy of the Mascat pirates. However, these were not the only pirates who operated in these parts of the world. Many Europeans, especially English nationals had chosen the lucrative business of piracy as their occupation. Among those sea captains, the most outstanding names are the Frenchman Misson, and Englishmen: Avory, William Kidd, Cornelius, and the sinister Plantain helped by Mulatto Tom.[1]

From the base of St. Mary, pirates infested the entire Indian Ocean, and in the Persian Gulf Mascat pirates were getting whatever ships had escaped, thus rendering the trade with India almost impossible. Something had to be done.

Unable to obtain the help of the British or Dutch, Persia turned to the French. Sieur Michel, representing France, readily accepted the offer and consequently a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce was signed between the two powers (September 7,

---

[1] Tom was Avory's son by the Indian noblewoman whom he had kidnapped from the ship "Gunjsawee" (1696), in company of 100 other girls "from 12 to 18 years of age," who were also carried away to "Libertatia." This settlement of Libertatia on Saint Mary Island (off Madagascar), was founded by Misson in 1694, and fortified by Avory, and was where the European Pirates had their numerous wives. The main body of the colony was formed by freed Negro slaves who manned the piratical squadron ships.

175

1708). By a secret clause, France was to provide naval transportation and assistance to Persia for the occupation of Mascat. Furthermore, to insure secrecy, that "clause" was formulated in a separate memorandum consigned to a "sealed envelope", and by Article 14 of the treaty France simply took the engagement of executing the "provisions contained in the memorandum."

However, the French were slow in executing the terms of the treaty. Mascat pirates were left free and unpunished to interrupt trade and participate in raids on ports and cities. The Court of Isfahan decided to press the matter, and a Persian Ambassador, Reza Kuli Beg, was sent to this effect to Louis XIV. During his stay in France, the Ambassador negotiated a new Treaty of Commerce clearly favorable to France, but in exchange, the Persian demanded an alliance against the Imam of Mascat. Persia was to furnish 30,000 troops and provide for the arming of the fleet. The spoils of war would be divided equally between the two countries, and after the occupation of Mascat, France was to be given possession of a fort. Furthermore, the French were to participate on equal footing with the Persians concerning the pearl fisheries of the Bahrein Islands.

Despite these favorable terms, the French were unwilling to engage in the new venture, as the extent of French naval power was very limited after the war of the Spanish Succession. Furthermore, the French were nursing the idea of an alliance with Mascat.

While the Franco-Persian negotiations were ineffectually being carried on, Sultan II, with the help of the East India Company, invaded the Bahrein Islands, and succeeded in taking the fort and the government house of Manamah, where they slaughtered hundreds of Persians. The matter was urgent and Persia had to look for another ally.

A Persian mission was dispatched to Goa in 1718 and offered the Portuguese an alliance against the Omanis with the purpose of reoccupying Bahrein. Accordingly, a Portuguese fleet sailed from the port of Kong and engaged the Omanis, who had been supplied by the British and Dutch with "powder and shots".

The Portuguese did very little in fighting, and even for that, they formulated conditions unacceptable to Persians who preferred to negotiate with the invaders. Bahrein was finally recovered against a payment of 8,000 tomans, and the Persian troops occupied and fortified it (1718).

The government of Bahrein was given over to Sheik Jabbara of Tahiri (a port on the Persian coast), who was chief of the Huwala and Persian Admiral of the Gulf. The chiefs of Tahīri governed Bahrein for a period of fourteen years.

This turn of events coincided with the death of the Imam of Mascat and the succession of his nephew, and Oman was ravaged by a Civil War, making its conquest relatively easy. Persia, mistrusting Portuguese designs, refused to lay siege to Mascat and the Portuguese fleet, after a winter stay at Kong, returned to India.

Shortly afterwards, however, a great number of Persian troops were concentrated around Bender Abbas for the projected invasion of Mascat. The Persian Army was to be transported either by the French royal fleet, or on board ships belonging to the French East India Co. Sieur Padery, the French Consul at Shiraz, and the promoter of this project, visited the Shah in Isfahan (1721), and during a private audience with the King and his Prime Minister, it was agreed that in exchange for the help being given Persia, France was to receive full ownership of the pearl fisheries of the Bahrein Islands.

Once again, Persia became prey to internal troubles and the insurrection of the province of Afghanistan started a Civil War which set the entire country aflame. The Persian troops were called back for the defense of the capital and the invasion of Mascat was abandoned. It was not until 1736, after the ascent to the throne of the famous Nadir, that the Persians were able to turn their attention toward Oman. However, Persia did not possess a national fleet to enforce her authority, and the lack of fidelity on the part of the local sheiks, whose vessels formed the bulk of the Persian Navy, had deprived Persia of her maritime power more than once in time of emergency. The English and

175 Dutch, too, almost invariably procrastinated when asked to lend their ships or to coöperate with the Persian land forces. Nadir therefore decided to organize a Persian Navy. His Admiral, Latif Khan, tried to purchase British ships at Bender Abbas but the British were reluctant to sell. He was advised instead to get them at the great shipbuilding center of Surat, in India. This he was able to do, though not without some difficulty, and in addition, to acquire a few foreign vessels which visited the Gulf. In this way, the Persians were able to arm a fleet of four ships (two purchased from British merchants, including the former *Northumberland,* bought for 50,000 tomans), two grabs, and some small craft. For the first time since the fall of the Sassanian Empire, the flag of the Persian Navy, a red Persian sword centered in a white ground, made its appearance in the waters of the Persian Gulf. The Persians were on the move again.

The first naval operation on schedule was the conquest of Bahrein and Kish. These islands were under the authority of Sheikh Jabbara who was the Commodore of the Persian Navy. However, Jabbara had refused to recognize the coup d'etat by which Nadir had become king, and refused to pay him allegiance.

The new fleet set sail for Bahrein in May 1736 with some four thousand men aboard. The time was well chosen as Sheikh Jabbara had gone in pilgrimage to Mekka and the island was defended by a small garrison. The expedition easily destroyed the forces of Jabbara, and the government of Bahrein was given to Sheik Nasir, the head of the Abu Muhair tribe of the Persian littoral. The following year the Persian forces occupied Oman. However, neither the local sheiks nor the European traders were happy about the existence of a strong regular Persian Navy and worked against it.

There were frequent mutinies among the crews, the main body of which was composed of sailors subject to various sheiks from whom they secretly received orders. Such mutinies not only made it possible for the local sheiks to retain their independence, but also favored the existence of pirates who, profiting by the momentary disorder, made commerce impossible. 175 There is reason also to believe that in most cases the mutinies were supported by European powers, which carried on the main trade of the Persian Gulf. An illustration was the mutiny of 1740, in which the British East India Company openly favored the mutineers, and the Dutch, who at first backed the loyalist troops, suddenly made a *volte face* and supported the rebels. It is certainly strange that negotiations between the loyalists and the mutineers were carried on in English, and that an Englishman served as spokesman for the mutineers, while the Persian Admiral had to use an interpreter to deal with his own men.

Despite the difficult situation, the Persians were strong enough to keep peace and order in these waters until 1747, when the assassination of Nadir started another Civil War and the fleet was forgotten amid other cares. Naturally, the local chiefs or tribal shieks profited by the turn of events to recover their lost strength and consolidate their independence. Among those who bid for power were the Utūb.[1]

THE UTUB

The Utūb, one of the clans of Jumailah, a subdivision of 'Aniza tribe, were originally from the province of Aflaj in central Arabia. Following the general pattern of the nomadic Arab migration, they naturally looked towards the regions of the Persian Gulf where the prosperous pearl fishing and trade offered them the opportunity for better living. [167]

Unlike the invasion of the great tribes, the Utūb had infiltrated in small groups and with the consent of the actual occupants, the Beni Khalid, they had settled on several points of the Persian Gulf littoral, the territory of Kishm and Zobara, with the main center at Grain (now Koweit), all of which were under the sovereignty of Persia.

They had formed a confederation in order to protect themselves against the economic and political pressure of other tribes. This confederation of the Utūb was led by three families: Al Sabah, Al Khalifah, and Al Jalahimah. Special duties were

---

[1] "Geneology of Sheiks of Bahrein," p. 48.

175 assigned to each family. Al Sabah performed administrative functions (generally their Sheik was the head of the confederation.); Al Jalahimah were to superintend and control the maritime affairs, while the Al Khalifah headed the mercantile activities.

As time went by, the Utūb reached a high degree of commercial prosperity, and Al Khalifah accumulated a great fortune, apparently at the expense of their associates. This fact motivated Sabah to put Muhammed, the head of Al Khalifah, under arrest. But Muhammed, with the help of his brother, escaped to Zobara where he was rejoined by other members of his clan.

The head of Al Khalifah was the son of Faisal, and was originally from Zafra, a village in the territory of Bu Dhabi. Muhammed had two sons, Fazil and Khalifah, whose descendents became known respectively as Al Fazil and Al Khalifah. These two brothers moved at an early age to the newly founded settlement of Grane, and entered the pearl fishing trade. Both were enterprising and soon prospered, becoming leading merchants. It was with this background that Muhammed became head of Al Khalifah.

After their escape to Zobara, Al Khalifah fortified this town by building a stone wall around it, provided a fort with watch tower to guard the sea shore, and prepared for defense. The timely death of Sabah (1762), relieved them from the threat of revenge by their kinsmen, and they were able to carry on undisturbed their commercial activities.

Soon it was the turn of Al Jalahimah to secede from the federation. They left Koweit and settled at Roweisah on the Arabian mainland. Thus there were now three distinct groups: the Al Sabah at the original settlement at Koweit, the Al Khalifah at Zobara, and the Al Jalahimah at Roweisah.

As the prosperity of Zobara depended on the trade of Bahrein,[1] Al Khalifah persuaded the Sheik of Bushir, who had authority over Bahrein, to lease them the island. As Governor of Bahrein and Sheik of Zobara, Muhammed exercised his authority under Persian protection with the obligation of paying taxes to the treasury of Shiraz, in Fars. 175

---

[1] Raynal, a contemporary writer, estimates the annual amount of pearls fished in and around Bahrein at 3,600,000 French livres (tournois). (Livre Sterling = 22 10 livres tournois (1776).

Under Muhammed and his son Khalifah, the taxes and tribute were paid regularly. Upon the death in 1799 of the Shah of Persia, Karim Khan, the new Sheik, Ahmed, became recalcitrant. He refused to pay tribute, arrested the Persian representative, and looted the Persian gallivat that had been sent to Bahrein to collect taxes. A unit of the Persian fleet appeared in short order off Zobara (1782) and the Sheik hurried to pay the tribute that was due and to renew his allegiance to the throne.

Not long afterward, however, taking advantage of the Civil War raging in Persia, Ahmed again refused to pay tribute and the Governor of Bushir had to send a fleet to recover the island and punish the Sheik. At the news of its approach, the Al Khalifah plundered the island and took refuge at Zobara on the mainland. The Persian fleet started a systematic blockade and the Sheik offered to negotiate, restore the loot, and pay all damages. This offer was refused, and the Persian troops landed near Zobara and inflicted severe damage on the settlements of the Al Khalifah along the coast. Its mission completed, the Persian army re-embarked for Bahrein, which was put under the direct control of the Sheik of Bushir, who named his son Governor of the island.

During these military operations, the Al Khalifah were aided by the Al Jalahimah, who attempted several diversions against Bahrein and interrupted Persian shipping. To procure the help of the Al Jalahimah seamen, the Sheiks of Zobara had promised them "grants of land, money, and exclusive privileges of tenure". As soon as the Persians left they refused to keep their pledges, and their kinsmen retired to Khor Hassan where, under the leadership of their chief, the famous Ramah ibn Jaher, they allied themseves with other divisions of their tribe (known in

175 the annals of the Gulf as the Jawāsim,[1] and started a feud with the Al Khalifah.

Despite the accession to power of the founder of the Kadjar Dynasty, wars of succession were still raging in southern Persia and several years passed before he could pacify the maritime provinces. The time was ripe for the Utūb to take their revenge.

The Al Khalifah invaded Bahrein and routed the Governor, Nasir al Mazkur, who fled to Bushir to ask for the aid of the Persian Army. The Provincial Governor, seeing an excellent opportunity to reduce the power of the already too influential Sheik of Bushir, refused to send the Persian troops.

On the other hand, to forestall a punitive expedition from Persia, the Al Khalifah had declared their readiness to pay tribute. Under these circumstances, they were authorized to hold the island and govern it in the name of the Persian Governor of Fars. This was consistent with the Persian tradition of power politics. Lacking a strong fleet, they usually dealt separately with each sheik, according him internal autonomy, and contenting themselves with receiving homage and tribute. In the event of a persistent refusal on the part of a sheik to pay taxes and tribute—and the word "persistent" is important because taxes generally were not paid at regular intervals—the Persian fleet, or the fleet of a subject sheik paid a visit to the island and called the errant chief to order.

For example, in 1799 the Imam of Mascat attacked the forces of Bahrein, which had discontinued payment of taxes levied upon all vessels passing from India through the Gulf. Accordingly, the Imam on board his frigate *Ganjawa,* with a fleet of three square-rigged ships and sixty bughlas, headed for Bahrein. The battle that took place resulted in the capture of three of the Utūbi vessels, but the Bahreinis were successful in defending the island. Immediately thereafter, the Utūbi Sheiks hastened to renew their allegiance to Persia by paying the tribute due from the preceding year and the Imam suspended his attack.

---

[1] From Qasim, the common ancestor of the tribe. In the Gulf region, the guttural Arab Q is softened and pronounced as "J" in English.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

19th CENTURY

175

Three years later, however, the affairs of Bahrein again necessitated intervention, and again the forces of Mascat attacked Bahrein and succeeded in driving out the Utubi, who fled to Zobara and sought the help of the Wahhabi Emir. By now the Wahhabis had extended their power to the Arab coast of the Persian Gulf, and the Sheiks of the mainland were either their allies or their vassals.

Bahrein was occupied by Seif ibn Ali, sent by the Imam of Mascat as Governor and Commandant of the island. Shortly afterward, with the help of the Wahhabis, the Utūbi Sheiks surprised the Imam's garrison in Bahrein and invaded the island. Seif ibn Ali fled to Mascat, and the Imam once more had to dispatch a strong naval force to Bahrein which occupied the island without difficulty.

The Sheik of Bahrein, Salman, agreed to pay tribute to the Imam who acted under authority of the Persian Government. Furthermore, to guarantee his good faith, he dispatched his brother Muhammed to Mascat as hostage.

As vassals of the Imam, Bahrein forces participated in the British naval operations against Ras-ul-Khayma. As reward for attacking the Jawāsim, the Sheik approached the British and required that Great Britain "lend him such support as will enable him to remain undisturbed at Bahrein," but the Bombay Government was friendly with the Imam of Mascat and "abstained from all interference."

The Sheik of Bahrein then complotted with the Wahhabis who were fighting the Imam. Their combined forces invaded the island and chased the Mascat Governor. The uprising was well timed because Muhammed, who was hostage at Mascat, had died recently, thus freeing Sheik Salman of any apprehension concerning the well being of his brother.

As the Wahhabi soldiers gained control of the island, they proved themselves real oppressors, and tried by force to convert the inhabitants to their own faith. When Sheik Salman protested this unjust treatment, his brother Abdallah, and several other members of his family were carried away as hostages to the Wahhabi capital Dar'yah (1809).

In Bahrein, resistance to Wahhabi domination continued and the remaining Sheiks, under the leadership of Abdar Rahman ibn Mubarak, carried on the struggle. When the Wahhabi threatened to execute their hostages, the young Sheik replied: "Go back and tell the Amir that we have forgotten our relatives, and if our sails could carry us to Dar'yah, we would raze it to the ground." However, despite their bravery, they could do little against the Wahhabi without outside help.

The Imam, busy fighting on other fronts, was not able to help directly, and had to appeal to the forces of the Shah of Persia, in whose name he ruled the island. To this end, his representative, Sheik Ali, "bearing costly gifts," was sent to Shiraz to secure the cooperation of the Prince-Governor of the province. At the same time he wrote a letter to his friend, Sheik Nasir of Bushir, requesting him to use his influence in securing the assistance of the Prince and "enclosing a blank sheet bearing his seal, to be filled in with the conditions and the amount of tribute which the Persian Government wished to impose." His appeal was favorably received and "a body of two hundred Persian horsemen and 2,000 foot soldiers' embarked at Bushir to join him. Bahrein was invaded, Wahhabi forces expelled, and the island once more given back to the Utūbi. As the Persian forces were threatening the invasion of Wahhabi territory, the Bahrein hostages were released and were permitted to return to the island. Salman and his brother reaffirmed their submission and renewed their allegiance to Persia.

Thus at the end of the first decade of the 19th century, Persia's foothold on Bahrein seemed strong and secure, and the old equilibrium of the Gulf reestablished. However, a new factor was soon introduced in the old game, changing the equilibrium of the Gulf.

This new factor was the direct intervention of the East

India Company. As we have seen previously, the English became active in this part of the world at the beginning of the 17th century, but so far, except for a few instances, their main purpose was the trade of silk and draperies, and they very cautiously kept themselves from nursing any desire to annex, or to hold militarily, ports in the Gulf.[1] However, the events in Europe—struggle with French—and in India—wars with Tippoo Sahib and the planned invasion of Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah—, had changed the conception of the security of the Indian Empire.

It is true that two centuries after Armada, once more the "Wooden walls of England" had stopped a foreign assault and saved the country. However the "Corsican Master of Europe" was not easily discouraged, and it was generally believed that the French Army would try to reach India by crossing Persian territory, provisioning themselves en route. In the so called Bonaparte's plan of 1798, the supplies were to come from the Ile de France (Mauritius) and were to be landed at Bassorah, Bender Abbas, and other Persian ports. To forestall the French design, an East India's envoy, Malcolm, was sent to Persia in 1800 in order to negotiate a Commercial Treaty. Under cover of the Commercial negotiations, Malcolm demanded the cession to the Company, of the Island of Kishm, Hanjam, and Khark in the Persian Gulf. This raised strong opposition from the Persian Government; even the accepted bribe by the Minister of Records[2] did not overcome his opposition, and the intended article had to be withdrawn. Despite this set back, the British were successful in renewing their agreement with the Imam of Mascat (concluded in 1798), by which the Imam promised to expell the French from his possessions and authorized the English to fortify their Factory at Bender Abbas. "mounting guns thereon, as many as they list, and to forty or fifty English gentlemen (officers) residing there, with seven or eight hundred English Sepoys."

---

[1] Raynal who writes in 1776 is amazed that the English "had not even thought of establishing themselves in Bahrein Island"; and adds "we do not know why."

[2] Mirza Shafi who later became Prime Minister.

Subsequently, the Bombay Government tried to line up other alliances with the Wahhabi rulers of Hasa and with the Sheiks of Bahrein. However, these were emergency measures; the alliance with Persia remained the main purpose, and the Indian Government had kept "the Pashalik of Baghdad as a lure" to detach this country from the French.

Persia, faced with necessities of war with Russia, could not neglect the possibility of the French alliance, and consequently the Treaty of Finkenstein (May 4, 1807) was signed between the two countries. By Article 8, Persia takes the engagement to cease all political communication or commercial intercourse with England, to declare war on that Power, and to expell the Consuls, factors, or other agents of the East India Company residing in Persia and in the ports of the Persian Gulf. Article 11 stipulates "in case of a French fleet arriving in Persian Gulf or in the port belonging to H. M. the Emperor of Persia, she would be given all facilities and help that she might need." The following Article speaks clearly of the possibilities of a joint invasion of India by combined land and sea forces of Persia and France.

As soon as the treaty was signed, the East India Company planned the occupation of principal islands in the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, they contemplated setting up a friendly king in Persia by restoring to the throne an obscure pretender of the deposed Zand Dynasty, Najaf Ali, who was already receiving a pension of 400 rupees a month. This alarmed Persia, and she sought the help of France in the Persian Gulf. The French agreed to provide their fleet, but in exchange they were granted "forever and in full property the island of Khark," (Article 17 and 18, Commercial Treaty January 1808). However, the inability of the French to help the Persians in the war with Russia, changed the picture, and the British were able to conclude with Persia the preliminary Treaty of March 12, 1809.

Article V and VI of that treaty assured the Persian Govern-

175

ment of the good intentions of the East India Company, and affirmed that British troops sent to the Persian Gulf would be at "the disposal of His Majesty the King of Persia," and would remain at Khark or any other port if H. M. so desired. The extent of the forces stationed in the Persian Gulf was to be settled in the Definitive Treaty.

The Definitive Treaty was signed on November 25, 1814. Article XI reads as follows:

> Should His Persian Majesty require assistance from the English Government in the Persian Gulf, they shall, if convenient and practicable, assist him with Ships of War and Troops. The Expenses of such Expedition shall be accounted for and defrayed by the Persian Government, and the above Ships shall anchor in such Ports as shall be pointed out by the Persian Government, and not enter other Harbours without Permission, except from absolute Necessity.

By the stipulation of the above Article, the British were to assist Persia in policing the waters of the Persian Gulf and act as a Persian naval force whenever their help was required. By implication, this clause created a legal basis for England's intervention in the local affairs and from the role of partner, they assumed little by little, that of arbiter, and at the end of the 19th century, the Persian Gulf became for all purposes, a British lake.

However, to understand the importance of the Persian Gulf to Great Britain, one should always bear in mind the great events in European history, and particularly the antagonism between Russia and England since the defeat of Napolean's armies. To stop Russian forces from reaching the warm waters of the Persian Gulf, the policy of Britain was, on one hand, to strengthen the hands of Persia and Afghanistan by allying herself with them, and on the other hand to temporize, by satisfying the appetite of Russia even at the expense of her allies.

These two contradicting axioms characterized the policy pursued first by East India Company and then by Great Britain in the Persian Gulf. To each Russian increase of influence—political, military, or commercial—in Persia proper, there corresponds on the part of England, an increase of activities in the Persian Gulf.

To strengthen her position in these waters, it was important for the English Navy to hold possible operational bases and strategic ports or islands. Bahrein by its geographical location was best suited to afford such a position, and England did all in her power to keep it in friendly hands.

It is in the light of these remarks that the contemporary history of Bahrein should be read.

In 1814, Captain William Bruce, the British Resident at Bushir, went to Bahrein and assured the Sheik of British neutrality in the invasion of Bahrein which was being threatened by the Imam of Mascat. The price of this neutrality was the promise by the Sheik that "his ports were ever open, and should continue so to [the British], and every aid at all times rendered to [British] vessels, whenever they should arrive." To convince the Sheik of Britain's "friendly dispositions," Captain Bruce said that he was ready, "although not authorized by the Government, to draw up a few articles of agreement, which we would exchange, and [that he had] no doubt but that they would be approved of, and be sanctioned by the British Government. [The Sheik] was highly satisfied with this."

Actually, when the forces of Mascat attacked Bahrein, Bruce offered his good offices, which were rejected by the Imam. The Imam's claim over Bahrein was based on a firman he had received from the Persian Government with investiture over the Islands of the Persian Gulf. A difference of interpretation developed, and the Governor of Fars held the view that the Government of Bahrein was relieved of his direct authority.

In 1816, while promising military aid to the Imam of Omam against Bahrein, and fixing the annual tribute of the island group at 10,000 tomans in the event of its conquest, the Governor of Fars secretly negotiated with the Sheik of Bahrein, received tribute from him, and even presented him with a "robe of honor." The attack carried on against Britain by the forces of Imam failed, probably due to the intervention of the Persian forces in the island, for in April 1818, we see the Imam sending a messenger to Teheran protesting to the Shah the duplicity of the Governor; the messenger was not permitted to proceed to the capital, however, and was instructed to send his message by courier.

About this time (1817), Bruce represented the Sheik of Bahrein as affording the fullest and most effective aid in his power, in grain and stores of all kinds, to the Jawāsim pirates. He added that it was "impossible under these circumstances to look on Bahrein in any other light than that of a piratical port."

Britain had decided to destroy the forts and the Arab warships that had survived the expedition of 1809 against Ras al Khayma, and Sir Evan Nepeau, Governor of Bombay, in the spirit of the Treaty of 1814 with Persia, sent a letter to the Prince of Shiraz explaining the object of the British expedition, and requesting the collaboration of the Persian Government. An expedition under the command of W. G. Keir was sent to the Persian Gulf (1820) to act against pirates. The expedition did not confine its operations to the southern coast of the Gulf and against the pirates, but also destroyed trade ships belonging to the Arab chiefs on the Persian side. It is true that, upon the protest of the Persian representatives, the Government of India paid compensation to the injured parties, but lack of wood and construction facilities prevented the chiefs from replacing their losses, and so the aim of the British was accomplished.

The truth of the matter is that the expedition hid behind its humanitarian mask the desire to eliminate competitors. Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1833:

> I have conversed with some of the most intelligent European agents on the trade with the Gulf of Persia, who informed me, that a great portion of the piece goods, before sent in English vessels from Calcutta, are now conveyed in small Arab and Indian craft from Bombay, and being at cheaper freight, the sale of such articles is increased. . . . This fact, which is satisfactory as showing a cause for increasing sale of British manufacture, and as tending to change the habits of lawless men, is completely contrary to the interests of the owners of British ships formerly occupied in this trade . . . who had formerly all the freight which is now carried on by Arabs.

Another tangible result of this expedition was the signing of a General Treaty with the chiefs of the Gulf, with the exception of Rahamah, the "faithful servant" of the Persian Government. The Treaty is commonly known as the Flag Treaty from Article 3 which stipulated that all "friendly Arabs" should carry "by land and by sea" the "White pierced Red" flag of the British Navy.

To overcome the objections of the Persian Government, Article 4 specified that the Sheiks should continue their "former relations, except that they shall be at peace with the British Government and shall not fight with each other; and the flag shall be a symbol of this and nothing further."

Article 5 gave British vessels the right to stop Arab ships and to exercise "register and clearance"; Article 6 provided that each of the chiefs should send "an envoy for the transaction of [his] business" to reside near the British Residence at Bushir; and Article 7 provided for future collaboration against those chiefs who should not conform to the spirit of the treaty. The remaining Articles were humanitarian and commercial clauses, providing, among other things, for the amelioration of the condition of prisoners of war, prohibition of the export of slaves, and permission to friendly Arabs to enter the ports controlled by England.

The duration of the pact was described in Article 1 as "forever," and it was stated that it should not concern "an acknowledged war which is proclaimed, avowed, and ordered by Government against Government" (Article 2).

The treaty was signed in February 1820 by the representative of Bahrein in the name of the brothers Salman and Abdallah ibn Ahmed, who ruled the island jointly.

The signing of the treaty did not give the chiefs independence; its avowed purpose was merely to maintain the status quo in the Gulf.

To give further proof of the good intentions of the East India Company, its representative, Bruce, in a draft of a Treaty concerning the slave trade signed in 1820 with the Prince Governor of Fars, guaranteed the "historical rights of Persia over the Bahrein Island."

The treaty was not ratified by the Shah, however, on the ground that the Prince had no right to negotiate directly with a foreign power, which would create a dangerous precedent, and Bruce shortly afterward left for India.

Bahrein at that time was under the Government of the Imam of Mascat, to whom the Sheiks of Bahrein paid an annual tribute of 40,000 thalers. Now the central government of Persia directed the Governor of Fars to occupy Bahrein militarily, but the help of the British fleet could not be secured, and the small fleet of Persian crafts gathered for the expedition were not able to leave ports on time due to stormy weather prevailing in the Gulf.

However, soon the Sheik of Bahrein, Salman, died, and the new Sheik, Abdallah, received the Persian Supervisor, Iskander Khan, with due respect and in the letter sent the Governor of Fars, he reaffirmed his submission and renewed his allegiance to the throne.

Soon war broke out between Russia and Persia, and two years later the latter was beaten and the Treaty of 1828 established Russian influence at Teheran.

The British were seriously alarmed at the turn of events and the Bombay Government, contemplating the occupation of Khark, intensified its activities.

Once more the Imam of Mascat attacked Bahrein, and although the expedition of 1828 was not a military success, an agreement was reached and a tribute of Bahrein was payed to the Imam. This became possible by the marriage of the Princess, a sister of the Governor of Fars to the Imam of Mascat.

Soon trouble started in Bahrein, and in 1831 the Imam of Mascat made overtures to the Wahhabi, hoping to receive permission to rule the islands of Bahrein as the tributary of the Emir. The Emir, however, preferred to receive tribute from the Utūbi Sheiks with whom he had just signed a Treaty of Alliance by which they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute of 2,000 thalers in return for aid against Mascat. It should be noted that at this time the whole line of the coast was dominated by the Wahhabis. In 1834, however, the Sheik of Bahrein threw off allegiance to the Wahhabis, and even ventured to blockade Qatif and Ojair.

Despite the fact that the East India Company kept an agent at Bahrein, their influence was not important since the Company had to send several of its cruisers to blockade the island after its agent there had been bastinadoed and a considerable sum of money taken from him.

The Government of Bahrein was shared at this time by the two Sheiks, Abdallah and Khalifah, who were uncle and nephew. The death of Khalifah (1834) created a series of incidents which troubled the countries of the Gulf for many years, for the old Sheik did not want to share either revenue or power with his nephew, Muhammad, who succeeded his father. Quarrels and intrigues followed, and the powers principally interested in Bahrein either failed to intervene, or interfered less actively in favor of one or the other. In this display of power politics, Persia sided with Abdallah, while England supported Muhammad. In 1838, Khorshid Pasha, who conquered Nejd for Egypt, was preparing to invade Bahrein. Abdallah openly declared his submission to the Persian Government, and the following year a Persian agent, Haji Kasim, with an escort of Sarbaz (Persian regular troops), came to reside in the island. At this point the British Government, backing Persia, intervened, and intimated that any attempt of Egyptians in that direction would be met by force.

Shortly afterwards, war broke out between England and Persia, and an English naval force occupied the island of Khark in 18[illegible]. Bahrein, under the authority of Abdallah, remained on the side of Persia. Muhammad, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, addressed a letter to British authorities offering his services in exchange for assistance against his uncle. With the blessing of the British and the help of the Wahhabi, Muhammed was, in 1843, able to arm a strong fleet and drive the old Sheik from Bahrein, establishing himself at Manama. Abdallah took refuge at Bushir, where he was received with a salute of three rounds of musketry by the Sarbaz garrison, who were on parade for the occasion.

Abdallah proposed to pay tribute to Persia and to leave his son as hostage at the Court if the Shah would agree to help him recover his Sheikdom. Meanwhile, playing both sides, he addressed the English Resident and, assuring him of his friendship, told him of the proposition made to him by the Persians; he added that he had made a "convenience" of them to suit his own purposes. However, Britain had decided not to permit the return of Abdallah, and the Persian Government, informed of Abdallah's transactions with the British, did not believe it wise to help him.

Shortly after in 1848, Abdallah died, and his son continued the struggle until 1859, when he was proclaimed a public enemy and expelled from Damān by British forces. Thus, Muhammad was left to govern his island as a reward for the treaty he had signed three years before with England, according to which, as "chief of Bahrein," he had "engaged and bound himself, purely out of friendship" to suppress slave trade in the Gulf.

In 1851 a quarrel arose between Muhammad and the Wahhabi Emir, in consequence of which the latter appeared in Qatar, and having drawn the tribes of that district away from the Utūbi cause, threatened to occupy Bahrein. This was prevented by the appearance on the scene of British warships, and an agreement was reached by which the town of El-Bidā was restored to Bahrein.

In 1855-56 correspondence passed between the Wahhabi Emir and the British representative as a consequence of the reassertion by the Emir of his claim to suzerainty over the Bahrein Islands, a claim which was not recognized by the British Government because of their engagements with Persia.

The second Anglo-Persian War and the Treaty of Paris (1857) had made England the undisputed mistress of the

Gulf, and local sheiks turned more and more toward Britain. In her ultimatum to Persia on November 22, 1856, for example, Britain had demanded that "Persia . . . make an arrangement respecting Bender Abbas, satisfactory to the Imam of Mascat, the friend of England." By the Treaty of Paris, she succeeded in forcing Persia to sign the convention concerning slave traffic in the Gulf.

In 1861, Muhammad, as the "independent Ruler of Bahrein," signed a Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship with England, the most important provisions of which were the following:

> The Sheik agreed to refrain from all maritime aggression, slavery, piracy, or war, as long as he should receive the support of the British Government in maintaining the security of his possessions against "similar aggressions directed against them by the Chiefs and tribes" of the Gulf. (Article 2.)
>
> The Sheik promised that "no act of aggression or retaliation shall be committed at sea by Bahrein" without the consent of the British Resident, who would play the role of arbiter. (Article 3.)
>
> British subjects would be permitted to reside and carry on lawful trade in Bahrein and would be granted "most favored nation" status. Their goods were to be subject only to an ad valorem duty of 5% in cash or in kind. In addition, settlement for "all offenses which they may commit, or which may be committed against them, shall be reserved for the decisions of the British Resident, provided the British Agent, located at Bahrein, shall fail to adjust them satisfactorily.
>
> "In like manner," the article continued, "the British Resident will use his good offices for the welfare of the subjects of Bahrein in the ports of the maritime Arab tribes of this Gulf in alliance with the British Government." (Article 4.)

The treaty thus established special relations between the two parties, but the Sheik continued to declare himself a vassal of Persia.

About this time, the followers of the exiled Muhammed Ibn Abdallah created some difficulty in Bahrein for the Sheik, and a Persian official was sent by the Governor of Fars to cope with the situation. The instigators of this movement were chased from Bahrein, and took refuge in Turkish territory asking Ottoman protection. Ali Pasha, Grand Visir, sought to interfere on behalf of the exiled chief. The Persian Government protested by backing the ruling Sheik, and on April 28, 1861, its Ambassador in Istanbul submitted to the porte the following note: "Mascat and Bahrein are two places which for thousands of years up to the present have belonged to Persia. It has been customary in the last 200 years for whoever was the chief or the head of the region, to write first a letter of allegiance to the King of Persia requesting a firman of investiture,, and only after securing it would he start his governorship."

Muhammad Ibn Abdallah, from his base of Damān, with the help of Wahhabi continued to molest and interrupt the Bahrein shipping. In 1861, Muhammed decided to put an end to these acts of piracy and he embarked with six armed boats against the Imam. This proceeding was censored by the British, who brought pressure to force him to withdraw his ships to his own waters. The Sheik then sought through his envoy, Khalil Mirrikhi, the help of the Governor of Fars, and requested an expedition of Persian regular troops and gunboats. The British prevented the expedition by offering to expell Muhammad ibn Abdallah from Daman, which they promptly did.

Under these circumstances, the Treaty of 1861, despite its pretensions to being perpetual, could last only a short time. The failure by the Sheik to seek the advice of the British Resident alienated the British who decided to replace him with someone more docile, because, in the words of Lord Curzon, "no form of words . . . or signature could bind the crafty old fox." An English expedition landed on the island and Muhammad fled to Qatar. The fortress of Mahur, near Muharraq, was destroyed and the warships of Bahrein burned. Ali ibn Khalifa, brother of the Sheik, was put in Muhammad's place, and on September 6, 1868 signed an agreement recognizing the validity of the treaty made by his predecessor and promising to pay a fine of 100,000 Maria Theresa dollars. Muhammad was declared a pirate and forbidden to return to Bahrein.

This action by Britain and the signing of the Treaty of 1868, provoked a protest from the Persian Minister in London against the violation of their country's sovereign rights in

175 Bahrein. In his answer, Lord Clarendon, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, assured the Persian envoy that "the British Government holds the Sheik to these engagements solely for the purpose of preventing piracy and slave trade, and of maintaining the policing of the Gulf." He added that if the Persian Government was prepared to police the Gulf, the British Government "would be relieved of a troublesome and costly duty, but if the Shah is not prepared to undertake these duties, Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that His Majesty [the Shah] would wish that in these waters disorders and crimes should be encouraged with impunity."

He promised that "whenever it is practicable to do so, Her Majesty's Government will cause the Persian Government to be informed beforehand of any measures of coercion against himself, which the conduct of the Sheik of Bahrein may have rendered necessary." The British position was consistent with the term of the Treaty of 1814.

The exiled Sheik obtained permission to return to Bahrein, whereupon he began to intrigue against his brother. He was exiled again, this time to Koweit, but succeeded in gathering together a small force, and with the aid of his partisans, invaded Bahrein in September 1869. In the engagement that followed, Sheik Ali was killed, and Muhammad regained his Sheikdom. But one of his Lieutenants, Muhammad ibn Abdallah, subsequently rebelled, imprisoned him, and declared himself Sheik.

In the general turmoil that followed, property belonging to British subjects was damaged. This furnished a pretext for intervention, and the British fleet bombarded Manama and the neighboring regions. Muhammad and his adversary were deported to Bombay where they were imprisoned, and were later removed to Aden. Isa, a son of the deceased Sheik Ali, was installed as Sheik of Bahrein (1869).

The turn of events in Bahrein alarmed Persia, and diplomatic conversations were engaged with France in view of obtaining the help of the French fleet. A French envoy, Bouray, visited Teheran and proposed that in exchange for the eventual aide, France be given a 99 year lease on the island of Khark. 175

These Franco-Persian negotiations motivated the British Government to propose to Persia, through their Ambassador at Teheran (June 15, 1870), that they lease Bahrein Islands. Negotiations were carried on simultaneously at Teheran and London. The main difference of view separating the two Governments was the term of the lease. Persia was considering a short term of three to five years, while the British were asking a longer period. Negotiations were soon abandoned, but the status quo was maintained.

By now, the Turks, who had previously extended their power over the Coast of Hasa, were coveting Bahrein, and by creating different incidents, they were trying to justify their actions.

At the end of 1870, the custom officials of Baghdad suddenly decided to consider the Bahreinis as Ottoman subjects and extend to them the same duties as their own nationals. The Persian Embassy at Istanbul protested strongly, and after a rather lengthy period of negotiating, the Porte sent special instructions to the Wali of Baghdad, to the effect of considering the Bahreinis as Persian subjects and not to demand more from them than they had previously paid.

In 1871, a British man-of-war went to Qatar to demand certain taxes from the Sheik for the benefit of Bahrein. The Sheik, however, under the pretext of being a Turkish vassal, refused to submit to the British. This conduct induced Midhat Pasha, then Governor General of Baghdad, to protest to the English Consul against the interference of British warships in the territorial waters of Qatar. The Consul denied that there had been interference. The Turks then dispatched two of their warships to Qatar to protect the province against the anticipated aggression of Bahrein.

At the same time, the Turks made a representation to the English Government complaining of the British encroachment upon territory belonging to the Sultan.

In his answer of August 8, 1872, addressed to the Turkish Minister, Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, wrote that "pending the result of these inquiries, the Government of the Sultan can be assured that it is not the desire of Her Majesty's Government to interfere in the affairs of the Persian Gulf unless they concern matters prescribed by the treaty concluded in view of maintaining peace in these waters."

Two years later, however, a new incident took place. A few Bahreinis residing at Baghdad were drafted into the Turkish Army. The British Consulate protested to the Governor, but the incident was settled to the satisfaction of the Ottomans because the persons involved were found to have been born in Baghdad. The British Ambassador, however, made a point of saying that the British Consul "does not see any reason to treat the Bahreini as the natives of an Ottoman possession." The Ambassador then received assurances that "the Porte does not nurse any intention of considering Bahreini as his own subjects." Despite that, the Ottomans continued to claim sovereignty over the island. In a note addressed on April 14, 1874 to the Turkish Ambassador, Lord Dudley stated: "The renewal of this claim by the Sublime Porte obliges me to refer Your Excellency to the notes sent to your Government in 1851 and 1870, declaring distinctly that Her Majesty's Government did not admit any Turkish pretension considering Bahrein Island as a part of the Ottoman Empire, and if some natives of the Island in question referred to the British Consulate in Turkey for protection, it is because the latter could not refuse their good offices to the subjects of a Chief with whom Her Majesty's Government is in friendly relations."

The intensification of Turkish activities in the coastal regions opposite Bahrein had serious repercussions in the internal affairs of the island. It should be recalled, that previously the Sheik of Bahrein controlled several localities in the Qatar peninsula, and especially the township of Zobara. After the events of 1870, one of the refugee Sheiks, Nasir ibn Mubarak, with the help of his father-in-law, Qāsim, the Sheik of El Bidā, had deprived Bahrein of its possessions on the mainland. Now Qāsim was under Turkish protection, and Nasir claimed to be the rightful Governor of Bahrein where he had many followers. In his pretension, Nasir was encouraged by the Turks who saw a good ground for their intervention in the affairs of Bahrein.

To counteract the Turkish activities, Persians had to rely more and more on the British who had given themselves the task of guaranteeing the status quo.

Neither of the two principal powers interested, (Persia, Turkey) was willing to precipitate a showdown. The Turks were satisfied with creating local incidents, then protesting to London against the British interference.

Thus, in 1875, the Porte protested against the intervention of British authorities in the affairs of Qatar. The British, backing the Sheiks of Bahrein, had bombarded the town of Zobara and attacked some of the tribes of the Qatar Peninsula, notably the Beni Hajar who were sent by the Ottomans to collect taxes.

Qāsim refused the propositions offered by the Sheik of Bahrein, who intended to reconquer Zobara and establish a Bahreini colony there. The British Ambassador to Turkey, declared that the British man-of-war which had attacked Zobara had "probably been carrying on shooting exercises with the intention of intimidating and dispersing the Arabs."

Three years later, Nasir ibn Mubarak, assembled a force of Bedouins and attacked and destroyed Zobara. The Resident and Senior Naval Officer visited Qāsim's camp near Zobara and ascertained that no attack on Bahrein was contemplated. During the period of alarm, in order to guard the Island of Bahrein, armed ships belonging to the chief and commanded by British naval officers, were stationed to watch specified points within the limits of Bahrein waters. The threatening attitude of Nasir alarmed the British, to the point, that in February 1879, Captain Durand, First Assistant Resident, judged it necessary to take up his residence temporarily at Bahrein, with an escort of native infantry.

In June 1880, rumors began to reach Bahrein that Nasir

175 meditated an attack on the islands. Toward the end of the year he gathered a force of a few hundred Bedouins, and took up a position at Ru'ais and Abn Dhuluf on the Qatar coast, opposite Bahrein. The Arabs, however, failed to assemble a fleet, and abandoning the idea of a raid, dispersed. Nasir returned to El-Bidā.

In January 1881, Nasir wrote to the Resident, stating that he was constantly urged by persons in Bahrein to come there, and that although he had long refrained from taking this step out of deference to British authority, his forbearance had not been profitable for him. Therefore, to improve his circumstances, he now intended to proceed to Bahrein, and he hoped for the support of the British Government. He would, of course, inform the Resident of his arrival in the island.

To avoid further complications, and to assert her authority in the Gulf, Persia at this time determined to build a war fleet. The idea, however, was "discountenanced" by the British, who suspected hidden designs against "the independence of the islands and pearl fisheries of Bahrein." Despite the promise that the flotilla would be commanded by British officers and manned by Arabs and Indians, the British refused to help, and outwitted Persia by signing with the Sheik of Bahrein the Agreement of December 2, 1880.

Isa, on behalf of himself and his successors, agreed to "abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British, or establishing diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots" in his territory, "unless with the consent of the British Government." Thus by this Agreement, Bahrein became de facto a British protectorate, although officially, with wonderful euphemism, it was, and still is, called "an independent Arab State under British protection."

All was not well for the British however. Conditions in the Gulf soon began to change. In 1885, the *Persepolis,* a screw steamship of six hundred tons and 450 horsepower, carrying four 750-mm. Krupp guns, was turned out from the dockyard at Bremerhaven and arrived at Bushir. The terror inspired by that first Persian vessel was such, wrote Lord Curzon, "that immediately upon her appearance any disturbance as a rule ceased.

Subsequently, Persian and Russian officers of the Cossack regiment paid visits to the south of Persia, notably to Bushir, Bender Abbas, and Hormuz. Hormuz was visited and surveyed by a military engineer; there was a rumor that a Russian coaling station was to be established on the island in the near future.

In August 1886, a messenger arrived in Bahrein from Fath Ali Khan, Persian Governor of Lar, bearing presents for Sheik Isa.

By now the Persian Gulf had attracted international interests, and in October 1891, a Mr. Strasburger was sent to the Gulf by an Anglo-French syndicate to report on the possibilities for investment of the pearl banks. He visited Bahrein and other ports with a view to obtaining information as to how the industry was conducted. The result of his inquiry did not encourage the introduction of European capital. In December 1891, the Sheik granted a concession to a British firm at Bushir for the exclusive rights to export shells, but withdrew it, on the understanding that it would not be granted to anyone else, and that the purchase and sale of shells should be free to all. The Sheik, however, imposed a heavy export duty on shells.

Recrudescence of Persian authority and foreign interests in the Persian Gulf alarmed the British. To forestall any change of heart on the part of Isa, whose desire for independence, and Persian sympathies were well known, they forced him to sign on March 13, 1892, what is known as the "Exclusive Agreement." In substance, it was a confirmation of the Agreement signed with him twelve years before.

However, besides agreeing to restrictions in Bahrein's foreign relations and to the interdiction of foreign consular agents, both of which had been previously agreed to, the Sheik bound himself "on no account to cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupancy any part of his territory save to the British Government."

175 In March 1894, serious dissentions troubled Bahrein. Khalid ibn 'Ali, a brother of Sheik Isa, insulted Ahmed ibn Salim, one of the Sheiks of Al-i-'Ali. Sultan ibn Salamah, the head of the tribe, complained to Isa, but the Sheik neglected to give him satisfaction. Al-i-'Ali then decided to migrate from Bahrein. Isa forbade them to do so, and serious riots took place during which four persons were killed. Al-i-'Ali were successful in leaving the island, and they found refuge in Katar. Through the intervention of Sheik Qāsim ibn Muhammad, they received permission from the Ottoman to establish themselves at Zobara and to hoist the Turkish flag over their pearl fishing boats.

Zobara was claimed as an hereditary possession by Sheik Isa, but as a matter of policy, and in order to obviate conflicts on the mainland, he had left it unoccupied. Isa complained to the British, who protested to the Porte the hospitality given to "pirates." In its reply, the Porte suggested that the matter should be settled locally with Qāsim. British Resident Wilson visited Qāsim, and requested the extradition of Al-i-'Ali from Zobara, but Qāsim refused to acquiesce to the British demand.

The British ship, *Sphinx,* accordingly seized 19 boats belonging to the rebellious tribe, and conducted them to Bahrein. The Al-i-'Ali in retaliation, seized a number of boats sent from Bahrein to Zobara to bring over one of the leading members of the tribe who had made his peace with the Sheik of Bahrein.

A few Turkish troops with minor officials at their head, had some time previously been stationed at Zobara and the Ottoman flag hoisted. A small Turkish warship had also appeared on the scene and remained anchored for some time off Zobara. The situation became threatening, and in 1895, the Mutassanif of Hasa addressed a letter to the Resident reasserting Turkish pretensions, and intimating that upon failure to restore the boats seized by the *Sphinx,* an attack would be launched by the tribes of the Qatar Peninsula on Bahrein; British subjects should be removed from the island within seventeen days. The British man-of-war, *Pigeon,* which had shortly before proceeded to Bahrein and been dispatched thence to Zobara, was ordered by local officials to depart under threat of an attack, and it was intimated that the large fleet of Arab craft lying near by was prepared for an attack on Bahrein. The two British ships opened fire on the Arab fleet, and bombarded the town of Zobara. The following morning, Sheik Qasim offered full submission, and in compliance with Captain Pelly's demands, some 120 more of the ships at Zobara were surrendered and removed to Bahrein. The Al-i-'Ali, with the exception of Sultan ibn Salamah and a few adherents, returned to Bahrein. 175

Sheik Qāsim was informed in February 1896 of the decision of the British Government, that as the main instigator of these disturbances, he should be fined 30,000 rupees, failing payment of which, the captured boats would be destroyed. He repudiated responsibility, asserting that he had followed the orders of the Turkish authorities. The British offered the tribes that had been involved a chance to redeem their boats by paying a proportionate share of the indemnity. The offer was taken advantage of to the extent of one-third of the total. The remaining ships were destroyed a few days after the close of the year.

In December, Sultan ibn Salamah, leader of the Al-i-'Ali, in accordance with his custom, crossed over to the mainland to hunt. A group of men of the Ammamerah tribe fell in with him at sea off Ras Tanurah, near Qatif, and murdered him with his son, nephew, and twenty-three of his followers. Since Salamah had led the rebellion against Bahrein, the Sheik naturally was somewhat reluctant to punish the Ammamerah, and was the target of some of the ill feeling aroused by the assassination.

Ali, son of Sultan ibn Salamah, supported by a Bedouin following, tried to incite some of the Al-i-'Ali to aid him in reprisals against the Ammamerah pearl banks. The Sheik, however, warned them against taking part in the venture, and the attempt failed.

Some of the Al-i-'Ali, sympathizing with the feeling of their late Sheik's son, and dissatisfied with the immunity per-

175 mitted to his murderers, crossed over to Qatar, where they joined Ali at Qarya. They subsequently attacked and plundered a Bahrein boat, carrying off pearls and monies amounting to over 1,000 rupees. Sheik Isa accepted the accomplished fact, and consented to the departure of the disaffected elements, later on authorizing the families of the men to join them on the mainland.

To prevent the local Sheik from disturbing the peace of the Gulf, the Persian and British Governments had recently signed the International Convention on traffic of arms. The two Governments in their partnership of policing the Gulf, had instructed their Navy to cooperate by tracking down the smuggling of arms between their respective territories. Consequently, the following proclamation was published by the Sheik of Bahrein:

"Be it known to all who see this that British and Persian vessels of war have permission to search vessels carrying their and our flags in Bahrein territorial waters, and to confiscate all arms and ammunition (weapons of war) in them, if those arms and ammunitions are intended for Indian or Persian ports or the Island of Bahrein. . . ."

20th CENTURY

648 At the end of the 19th century and the opening of the 20th, the Persian Gulf became the main center of international intrigue. The Russians opened a series of consulates, and organized and subsidized steamer services.

In 1901, the German firm of Prins und Sturken, of Hamburg, opened a branch in Bahrein. In February 1902, two Frenchmen, Dumas and Castelin, arrived in Bahrein to open a business, and a German assistant to Woenkhaus and Company, of Hamburg, arrived later in the same year.

[228] Three years later, Woenkhaus who was already dealing in mother-of-pearl, transferred their main center of business from Lingah to Bahrein, where they asked a concession from the Sheik for the exploitation of pearl fisheries.

Prevented by the British, they then applied to Constantinople

648 for a lease over the island of Halul. With commercial competition, came political rivalry which caused Britain to hasten her Indianization of Bahrein.

The first step had already been taken after the incidents resulting from the departure of Al-i-'Ali, when as the price for their aid, the British established in Bahrein a Political Agent, subordinate to the Persian Gulf Political Resident at Bushir. The Bahrein Agent obtained jurisdiction over British subjects in the island, and the right to supervise their claims.

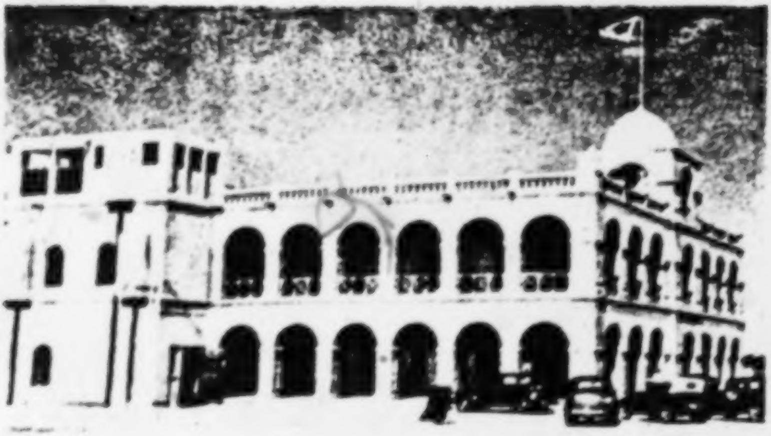
The second step occurred in 1903. Some German and Persian subjects were maltreated and beaten by the nephew of the Sheik. The Germans complained to Bushir and demanded retribution. This necessitated intervention by the Political Agent, and the Sheik's nephew was deported to Bombay for five years. To avoid a repetition of the incident, the Political Agent at Bahrein was charged with jurisdiction over all foreigners. To compensate the Sheik for the loss of prestige, his personal salute was increased from five to seven guns.

The measures taken by the British in Bahrein provoked strong protests from the Persian Government, which in a note to the British Minister, affirmed their sovereignty over the islands. The note was answered in 1906 by the English Minister in Teheran, and declared:

> His Majesty's Government consider the Island of Bahrein and its inhabitants under British protection and they refuse to accept any new representations on this subject.

In answer to this, an official protest was sent by the Persian Government declaring that the claims were based on the Agreement of October 30, 1822, between Captain William Bruce, "special commissioner of the British Government," and the Prince Governor of Shiraz. The British Government, in its answer of January 2, 1907, and again on February 23, of the same year, maintained that that Agreement had been filed without the necessary authorization and had been immediately "disavowed by competent representatives of His Britannic Majesty." The English note maintained that, since "His Majesty Fath Ali

644



PALACE OF THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

[facing page 95]

Shah has equally refused the stipulation of this accord, and has manifested his displeasure that the Prince of Shiraz had taken engagements with the British Government without previous approval of His Majesty, and without receiving specific instructions . . . that Agreement could not be considered as ever having been binding."

However, due to the internal situation in Persia — the Revolution of 1906, followed by Civil War and the intervention of British and Russians acting after the Agreement of 1907 —claim over Bahrein was momentarily forgotton.

However, the position of the British in Bahrein was challenged by the Turks, who, in 1909, occupied the island of Zakhnuniyeh which belonged to the Dawāsīr tribe, subject of Sheik Isa.

The British Ambassador protested to the Porte, and the Turks answered that the presence of their gendarmes was necessary to maintain order among the Dawasīr fishermen from Bahrein who frequented the island. In the spring of 1910, however, the Turkish soldiers returned, and the Turkish flag was hoisted every Friday.

Soon the situation in Europe necessitated an attempt by Turks and British to settle their differences, and in a confidential memorandum to the Turkish Government on July 29, 1911, Sir Edward Gray wrote that in the opinion of his Government "any lasting settlement between the two Powers [Great Britain and Turkey] must provide for the definite renunciation by the Ottoman Government of Bahrein and adjacent islands and of the whole of the Peninsula of Qatar (including El-Bidā) where the Sheik of Bahrein has important rights."

On this basis, negotiations took place between the two Powers, and finally a Convention was concluded on July 29, 1913. The outstanding provisions of the Convention were:

1. The Ottoman Imperial Government renounces to all claims concerning the Bahrein Islands, including the two islets, Lubainat-al-Aliya and Lubainat-es-Safliya, and recognizes the independence of that country. In turn, the Government of His Britannic Majesty declares that they have no intention of annexing the Bahrein Island to their territories. (Article 13.)

2. The British Government guaranteed to the Turks that the Sheik of Bahrein would not perceive from the Ottoman subjects engaged in pearl fishing, taxes higher than those perceived from interested persons of the most favored nations. (Article 14.)
3. The subjects of the Sheik of Bahrein would be considered aliens in Ottoman territories and could claim the protections of the British consuls. This protection, however, should be exercised in conformity with the general rules of European international law, excluding the subjects of Bahrein from the privileges accorded by the capitulations to subjects of specific powers. (Article 15.)
4. Turkey also renounced sovereignty over the Qatar Peninsula, which "Would be ruled as in the past by the Sheik Qasim ibn Thāni and his successors." (Article 11.)
5. The British Government declared that it "would not permit the Sheik of Bahrein to interfere in the internal affairs of Qatar, to jeopardize the autonomy of the country, or to annex it." In return, however, Turkey wanted the island of Zakhnuniyeh, opposite the coast of Nejd, but was ready to compensate the Sheik of Bahrein for its loss. The British government "takes notice of the decision of the Imperial Ottoman Government to pay the sum of 1,000 British sterling to the Sheik of Bahrein in compensation for renunciation of all its claims over the Island of Zakhnuniyeh situated near the littoral of Ottoman Nejd and belonging to that Sanjak, and offer their good offices to remit that sum to the Sheik against written renunciation which would be sent to the Ottoman Imperial Government."

This last was a secret clause, and the Turks, as it turned out, had not driven a good bargain, for they soon had to give up the whole of the Nejd to Ibn Saud, who had occupied the coast of Hasa in May 1913.

As far as the guarantee for pearl fishing was concerned, (Article 5), neither the British Government nor the Sheikdom of Bahrein had the right to grant preferential position to the Turks, or forbid their subjects to use the fruit of the seabeds, as the pearl banks of the Gulf have always been open to all the inhabitants of the littoral.

The eclipse of the Turks permitted Great Britain to expand its power over Qatar and Trucial Oman. On December 26, 1916, a treaty was signed by Ibn Saud and the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, acting for the Government of India, by which Great Britain recognized Ibn Saud and his successors—so long

648 as they were not antagonistic to Great Britain—as independent ruler of his territories, dependencies, ports, and coasts, and absolute chief of the tribes inhabiting them. (Article 1.)

Other provisions were:

1. Ibn Saud agreed to refrain from aggression against the territories of Koweit, Bahrein, and the Sheiks of the Oman Coast who were in treaty relations with the British Government. (Article 6.)
2. The limits of the other independent Arab principalities (Mentioned in Article 6), as well as those of Ibn Saud's own territories and dependencies (Article 1), would be discussed and determined at a later date, and that the two parties at that time would conclude a further and more detailed treaty. (Article 7.)

This agreement constituted no departure from traditional British policy in the Gulf, but rather confirmed their position in maintaining the status quo against internal disorder or foreign menace.

At the end of the World War, Britain decided to strengthen the ties which already connected Bahrein with her Indian Empire.

In 1913, the Bahrein Order in Council establishing the civil and criminal laws of British India, had been promulgated, but because of the outbreak of war, its application had been postponed.

Now Britain decided to put it in execution. However, they met with opposition, and this created a tension which was to disturb Bahrein for many years to come.

The main opposition to this third and last step in Indianization of Bahrein, came from the Persian elements of the population. The party of liberation of Bahrein, which was a branch of the Persian Democratic party, carried its activities against the British intervention; meetings were organized, and cables sent to Persian Parliament requesting the intervention of the Majlis for holding elections in Bahrein and admission of Bahrein deputy to Persian Parliament.

The tension grew between the Persians and the Arabs, encouraged by the British, and from the beginning of 1922, a series of minor clashes took place between the two elements.

Little by little, the clashes became more frequent, and from 648
the end of April 1923, fighting took place almost every day.

On the fourth of May, a regular fight took place between the inhabitants of the two villages of Badaiya' (populated by the Arabs of Nedj and Sunni), and that of Ali (inhabited by Persians of Shiah creed).

On the 9th of May, a band of armed Arabs attacked the Persians, killing three and wounding thirty-seven. Persian houses were sacked and occupants maltreated. The local government was unable to cope with the situation, and again the Arabs from Nedj received reinforcements from the mainland, and attacked Persian houses, stores, and villages. In this act of vandalism, 10 Persians were killed again, but the intervention of the local police, who were under the authority of the Persian Major, Muhammad Sharif, prevented further disaster by shooting on the assailants.

To reestablish order, the Political Agent had to call on British naval units which arrived on May 12th and 13th. Sheik Isa was held responsible and was asked to abdicate, but he convoked the council of his family, and they decided to refuse the demand. Confronted by the threats of the British Resident, however, he was "persuaded" to relegate his power to his son Sheik Hamed, who was declared Lieutenant of the Realm.

After his forced abdication, Isa, as a protest against the action which violated the rule of friendship, refused for more than five years to receive his son. Eventually, however, a reconciliation took place.

The Persian Mayor was sacrificed and his office suspended. 648
The national and foreign tribunals gave way to a Divan 652
formed by the Sheik and the Political Agent. An office of Ad- [692]
ministration of Finance was created, with a Briton at its head. Civil and military lists were established for the Sheik and his family. The English Bank of Manama, the Eastern Bank, was assigned to function as the Government Treasury. The legal provisions of the Bahrein Order in Council of 1913 were enforced.

648
692
Since the Order in Council is so important as to have changed the social as well as the political status of Bahrein, it is worth while here to give a summary:

> In matters relating to criminal and civil cases, the laws of British India and the United Kingdom are applied. By provision of Article 12, "the enactments described in the first schedule to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 shall apply to Bahrein, as if it were a British Colony or Possession, with the difference that the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf is substituted for the Governor of a Colony or Possession, the Chief Court for a Superior Court or Supreme Court, and the District Court for a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace of a Colony or Possession. In criminal matters, the laws of British India are applied, and the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf shall form a Chief Court with power invested in a High Court of Judicature; the Political Agent at Bahrein is the equivalent of the District Magistrate and Sessions Judge. The Judicial Assistant to the Political Resident corresponds to the Additional District Magistrate and Additional Sessions Judge.
>
> If both plaintiff and defendant are Moslem and agree to such procedure, the Political Agent may order the case to be tried by a Qazi (a Moslem judge having both civil and criminal jurisdiction). But his verdict must be ratified by the Political Agent, who is empowered to revise the findings and sentence "as if the Qazi were a Subordinate Magistrate."
>
> The powers of the Court (that is, of the Political Resident, the Political Agent, or the Judicial Assistant) are almost unlimited. The Political Agent can condemn to exile or jail any person under his jurisdiction or can "require him to give security to the satisfaction of the Court for his future good behavior." (Article 20.)
>
> Articles 21 and 22 are still more restrictive in spirit. Limited at first to British subjects, the provisions of these articles, by the Amendment of 1924, were extended to "any person to whom this Order applies"—that is to say, to all British subjects, all foreign subjects who by virtue of an accord with the Sheik are under British jurisdiction, and finally all subjects of Bahrein who are listed on the Register of the Political Agency. These articles, therefore, place in the hands of the Political Agent a powerful weapon.

In fact, the Political Agent as District Court, can "under its seal exile any person who has committed or is about to commit any offense against the Order, or otherwise is conducting himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order," during a time not exceeding two years.

In civil matters, the Code of Civil Procedure and other

Indian enactments relating to the administration of civil justice, and so on, are applied "as if Bahrein were a district in the Presidency of Bombay." 648 692

However, if the two parties accept "a question of local custom," they can be sent to the Majlis of Urf for consideration or report, and a dispute over accounts between pearling masters and divers may be sent to the Salefah Court for adjustment. Finally, Article 70 gives to the Political Resident the power of issuing regulations (called King's Regulations), having for their object "the peace, order, and good government of persons to whom this Order applies," and relating "to any native or local law or custom, whether relating to trade, commerce, revenue, or any other matter."

To summarize, any difficulty of a civil or criminal nature arising between a subject of Bahrein and a person to whom the Order applies, is regulated by a kind of collaboration between the Political Agent and the Sheik of Bahrein. The Political Agent, according to the nature of the case, can judge it himself with the help of the Sheik, or send it to a Joint Court, submit criminal cases to the Qazi, if the two parties are Moslem, refer civil cases to the Majlis of Urf, or submit cases relating to pearl fishing to a Salefah Tribunal.

The application of these measures provoked a local spirit of nationalism. Protests were organized in many places. The principal of Bahrein adopted the following resolutions and urged twelve of their number to try to enforce them by use of "all legal means". 668

1. Continuation, as before, of local government without intervention by the Political Agent;
2. Re-establishment of the laws based on religious principles (*Shar'*) and in conformity with their instructions;
3. Election of a representative chamber to insure the rights of the people;
4. Creation of a tribunal for pearl fishing (*Qaus*) composed of persons familiar with the problems relating to the industry;

668 5. Efforts to bring the Political Agent into conformity with the treaty between England and Bahrein, and to prevent his intervention in the internal affairs of the island.

The British considered the resolutions to be an act of rebellion against Sheik Hamad, and acted vigorously. Several people, among whom, Ali, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, and Ziani, the leader of the liberation party, were exiled to India, and coercive measures were taken against the others. The insurrection was put down, and the nationalist movement strangled. Since then, a number of the measures called for have been put into practice, but Bahrein, *de facto* if not *de jure,* has become a British Crown Colony.

6118 Differences between Persia and England, regarding Persian sovereignty over Bahrein arose in the same year. The pretext was a clause in the Treaty of Jaddah signed May 20, 1927, between England and Ibn Saud, which read as follows: "Ibn Saud undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with—Bahrein, who is in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government."

Persia, in a note addressed on November 22, 1927 to the British Minister at Teheran, affirmed her rights over Bahrein, declared that "the article is contrary to the territorial integrity of Persia," and asked that the British Government "promptly take necessary measures to relieve its implications."

In a note sent the following day to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, she invoked Article 10 of the Covenant, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of all member states. Persia asked the League to "guarantee her undisputed rights over Bahrein."

In a reply dated January 18, 1928, England tried to repudiate the Persian claim, and confirmed her own position, which was "to insure that the pacific development of the island and the prosperity of its Arab inhabitants are not troubled by unjustified advances coming from her neighbors and having in view the subordination of the inhabitants to foreign domination."

The British reply was followed by a new Persian note on

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed 648
in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations 423
and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation 641
of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had 167
to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had 648
right to own property in the island. 486

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously 471
by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked 648
on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

---

[1] This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

471 November 30, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern 648 Gulf Company,[1] acquired the option which was scheduled to expire January 1, 1929. Under the terms of the option, Eastern Gulf started preparatory work and made a surface geological map of Bahrein Island.

Gulf, however, which at that time was a member of the American Group[2] of the Turkish Petroleum Company,[3] signed the Group Agreement of July 31, 1928. This Agreement incorporated the restrictive clause of the Foreign Office Agreement of 1914, which prohibited the signatories from acting independently "directly or indirectly in the production or manufacture of crude oil" in an area bounded on the map by a red line.[4] In order to hold on to its interests in Iraq Petroleum, and also because it held an option on a concession for Koweit, Eastern Gulf, with the consent of the Syndicate,[5] on December 28, 1928, assigned its Bahrein option to the Standard Oil Company of California for the sum of $50,000. Under the terms of the option, the syndicate was to secure from the British Colonial Office a one-year renewal of the concession, due to expire December 2, 1928.

In the meantime, after the payment of the rent due in October 1928, the Colonial Office, now aware of the transaction, made the renewal of the lease "contingent upon insertion in the agreement of a clause providing, among other things, that the managing director and a majority of the other directors should be British subjects, that the Concessionaire Company should be

---

[1] A subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation of Pennsylvania, which was controlled by Andrew Mellon.

[2] This group owned 23.75% of Turkish Petroleum. The other four members of the American Group were: Atlantic Refining Company, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company, Standard Oil Company of New York (since 1931, Socony Vacuum Oil Company), and Standard Oil of New Jersey.

[3] Iraq Petroleum Company since 1929.

[4] For this reason, the Group Agreement is commonly referred to as the "Red Line Agreement." The restricted area includes most of the pre-World War I territory of the Ottoman Empire, the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, Kamaran, and Bahrein, excluding Farsan Island and the Sheikdom of Koweit.

[5] After consultation with its partners in Iraq Petroleum.

British registered, and none of the rights and privileges which 471 the Sheik had granted in the Concession would be controlled 648 directly or indirectly by foreigners."

These conditions seemed contrary to the Open Door policy and to the equality of commercial opportunity advocated by the United States since the first World War. Secretary of State Kellogg, on March 28, 1929, instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires "to discuss this case informally" with the British Government.

The British, in their answer declared themselves to be "prepared in principle to consent to the participation of United States interests in [the Bahrein] concession, subject to [their] being satisfied as to the conditions on which U. S. capital will participate and in particular as to the nationality of the operating company, of its chairman and directors, and of the personnel who will be employed in the Islands." The note suggested "direct discussions between representatives of the Eastern and General Syndicate, as the existing Concessionaire, and the Colonial Office."

The negotiations which took place in London were successful, and Standard Oil of California nominated its fully-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company,[1] as the company to which the concession should be transferred. On August 1, 1930, in agreement with the Sheik of Bahrein, formal assignment of the concession to the Bahrein Petroleum Company was concluded.

September 19, 1930, British authorities had arrested a number of important Persian residents in the island who had been accused of inviting the Bahreinis to send a petition to the League of Nations against the projected union of the Arab Principalities of the Persian Gulf, a movement patronized by the British Government. After some disturbances, calm was restored when units of the British fleet started "maneuvers" in plain view of the island.

By now, the Bahrein oil companies had started their exploita-

---

[1] Incorporated in Canada (Ottawa, January 11, 1929).

471 648 tion of the island, and in a note to the United States Minister at Teheran dated May 22, 1934, Persia denounced the concession as having been granted by "legally incompetent authorities," thus rendering it null and void. As in the British note, she "reserved all . . . rights . . . to all profits realized by the said concessions", and stated that she regarded the United States liable for all damages sustained by the Persian Government.

The American Department of State was reluctant to recognize Persia's claim over the Bahrein Island. It should be recalled, that the Reservation sponsored by Senator King of Utah, and approved to the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, which the Senate passed on June 15, 1934, was strongly opposed by the Administration. This Reservation was to prevent the United States Government undertaking steps which would "deny any right of sovereignty which Persia might have, in, and to, the Persian Gulf." Finally the Senate approved the Convention without the King Reservation.

Soon these exchanges of diplomatic correspondences were terminated by Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, who in a note addressed on July 23, 1934 to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, declared that his Government "did not intend for the moment to add anything to her former notes." This was a dead end, and the "Bahrein Affair" became another of the forgotten cases of the League.

The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs prepared yet another note, but for some reason it was not sent.

On December 29, 1934, the Sheik of Bahrein granted the Bahrein Petroleum Company a mining lease to extend for fifty-five years from January 1, 1935. This lease covered approximately 100,000 acres selected by the company in one block on the main island of Bahrein.

The Bahrein Petroleum Company, however, did not have facilities to market its production. The Texas Corporation, on the other hand, had extensive marketing facilities, both direct and through agents, in the areas east of Suez. Therefore, Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company therefore, 471 consolidated their interests "east of Suez", and in July 1936 648 created Caltex (the California-Texas Oil Company, Ltd.), incorporating in the Bahamas. The Texas Company transferred to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, (sole owner of Caltex), its five wholly-owned subsidiaries with marketing facilities in eastern and southern Africa, eastern and southern Asia, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, Australia, and New Zealand. In turn, the Texas Company acquired a 50% interest in Bahrein which doubled its capitalization, and issued the newly created shares to The Texas Company. Standard Oil of California continued to hold the remaining 50%.

The rivalry between Britain and Italy, and the Italo-Ethiopian 648 War, motivated Great Britain to strengthen her defenses in the Persian Gulf. Since 1930, the Baghdad-Karachi route, which had passed over the Persian mainland, had been detoured southward to pass over Koweit, Bahrein, and Sharjah (in Oman), then follow the coast to the Persian Gulf to Gwadar, in English Baluchistan, and thence to Karachi.

The British Government purchased from the Sheik of Bahrein, the vast promontory on the northeastern point of the island at Manama, in order to transfer their naval base from Henjam and Basidu, to Bahrein. The Bahrein Government agreed to undertake the construction there of the necessary buildings for lodging officers and men, and a military airport was built for the R. A. F., as well as a base for hydro-planes.

The British Naval base at Basra was abandoned, and Bahrein became the strategic center for Britain in the Gulf. It is the seat not only of the Political Resident, but also of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer for the Persian Gulf. These officials are to be distinguished from the technical advisers to the Sheik, who, although they are also British subjects, are state servants of Bahrein, and thus not subordinate to the Persian Gulf Residency. Chief among these are: the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the

648 Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

648 439 On November 16, 1935, the Governments of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Bahrein Government, entered into an Agreement regarding the "treatment of goods destined for or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia and carried in ships calling at Bahrein." The economic provisions were as follows:

1. Duty at the rate of 2% ad valorem shall continue to be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are landed at Bahrein in order to be re-exported.
2. Duty at the rate of 1-¾% ad valorem shall be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia, or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are trans-shipped (that is, loaded and unloaded direct from ships into dhows and dhows into ships anchoring off Bahrein) without being landed.
3. In consideration of the reduction in the ordinary rate of 2%, which is provided for in the preceding paragraphs, the Saudi Government will not make any request for exemption from the above-mentioned duties in the case of goods consigned to H. M. the King of Saudi Arabia or to his Government.
4. Customs duty at the rate of not more than 5% ad valorem shall be levied on dates imported into Bahrein from the ports of Saudi Arabia, but the rate provided for in Paragraph 2 above shall be levied on dates trans-shipped without being landed. The above mentioned duties shall be continued on the basis of wholesale price of dates of similar quality in Bahrein market on the day on which the consignment is cleared through customs.

648 After the signing of this Treaty of Commerce, the eldest son of Ibn Saud, newly elected the heir apparent of Saudi Arabia, visited Bahrein, and the Sheik of Bahrein participated in the

pilgrimage to Mecca, where he was officially received by Ibn Saud. The latter returned the visit in 1938 and stayed in Bahrein from May 2 to 7. 648

During the grandiose ceremonies at Bahrein, Sheik Hamed and his sons Abdallah (Governor of Muharraq), and Salman (Governor of Manama, and the present Sheik), pronounced speeches of welcome, sang Arabian poetry in honor of Ibn Saud, and exalted his visit as a sign of existing fraternity between Arab and Mussulman.

All this was part of a general pattern to favor the Arab unity. This unification of Arab lands which started after the first World War, was favored by the foreign office, and some quarters were favoring the unification of the Sheikdom of the Persian Gulf.

Beginning in 1937, the project of unification took on a more concrete form, especially after the journey to London of the Sheik of Bahrein and the still more noteworthy visit to Bahrein of the eldest son of Ibn Saud. (December 14-31, 1937). The final outcome was the adherence of these Sheikdoms to the much discussed Pact of Arab Alliance that had been signed by Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq.

The British Consuls in the Middle East, met in 1938 to discuss the project of unification, but decided to wait for a "more propitious time." The reasons for this decision, were the difficulties between Koweit and Bahrein, the very cool reception accorded by Ibn Saud, who had always had an eye on Bahrein, and the opposition of the Colonial Office, which feared that the allegiance of the English protectorates to the Pact of Arab Alliance (the signatories to which were supposedly free countries), might diminish its value in the eyes of the public.

According to some Arab sources, the proposed unification consisted of:

1. Unification of the programs of studies in the schools;
2. Unification of postal and telegraph systems;
3. Institution of a common regular army, independent in each Sheikdom, but with a single General Staff;

648 4. Unification of judicial systems and the formation of a High Council in which each Sheikdom should be represented;

5. A Chamber whose membership would be elective or nominative by each Sheik (or having both elective and nominative members) in charge of establishing financial laws and approving the laws proposed by the High Council. The Government of each Sheik must submit to the chamber, whose members would be responsible to their respective rulers.

In the meantime, a law of citizenship hostile to Persian elements was promulgated in Bahrein.

Persia once again addressed a note to the General Secretariat of the League of Nation, protesting the intervention of British advisers in the internal affairs of the islands. Persia condemned the laws as "contempt of the right of the sovereignty of Persia over the island."

648 The arbitrary measures adopted by the Political Resident in
668 Bahrein provoked a new series of writings.

From the fifth to the seventh of November, 1938, the merchants of Manama closed their shops as a sign of protest against the Political Agent, Belgrave, who had arrested three Bahreini notables. The demonstrators advocated the formation of a native committee to direct education; the administration of justice by native Bahreinis; the creation of trade unions; formation of a Legislative Council; replacement of the British Political Agent; expulsion of unskilled foreign workers in the service of the oil companies and their replacement by subjects of Bahrein. The English declared martial law, and many persons were arrested and a few exiled. A group of these refugees, with the help of sympathizers, formed at Basra, in Iraq, in 1939, an "association to Help the Arab of the Gulf" for the purpose of propagandizing in favor of the Arabs oppressed by the British.

648 However, at the outbreak of the second World War, each of the Sheiks of the Gulf sent messages of fidelity to the British

Crown, and the King of England wrote to each to thank him for 648 his generous offer. A typical gesture, announced proudly by BBC, was that of the Sheik of Bahrein, who declared that, although he had no men whom he could put in the service of the British, he was able to send a gift of money. This gift, which amounted to £30,000, was added to a pool organized to buy a Spitfire which was to be named *Bahrein.* In addition to the monetary gift, the Government put at the disposal of the British Admiralty "for the duration of the war", the entire pearl fishing fleet of the island, estimated at more than 3,000 units.

Meanwhile, by a Supplementary Agreement dated June 19, 471 1940, the Bahrein Petroleum Company received an extension of its concession, to include the area covering all lands, shoals, reefs, waters, and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Sheik of Bahrein. The new concession supplants the mining lease of 1934, and the revised agreement with the Bahrein Petroleum Company covers a period of fifty-five years, dating from June 19, 1940. The present area of the concession is given as approximately 1,664,000 acres, with a proved reserve of about 200 million barrels.

The refineries and oil depots of the Bahrein Islands were 471 bombed in October 1940 by three Italian heavy bombers— 648 with "satisfactory results", according to a communiqué of the Italian High Command of October 20, 1940. The planes had taken off from Dodecanese bases, and the 2,500 mile raid was the longest then on record by any of the belligerents.

The results were not, according to Allied sources, as satisfactory as the Italians claimed. The planes which dropped about fifty bombs, caused very little damage to the main part of the refinery.

According to *Middle East Journal,* the Persian Government protested to Italy for this violation of its national territory.

On February 20, 1942, at the age of 70, Sheik Hamed died of 648 a stroke and his eldest son, Salman, the Governor of Manama, [643] succeeded him. British recognition was announced by the

648 *London Times* of March 6, 1942. In July of the same year, the personal salute of the ruler of Bahrein was fixed at eleven guns.

On the occasion of his succession, Salman issued the following manifesto:

"We, Salman, have succeeded to the throne according to the promise which our father made to us, with the unanimous consent of our paternal uncles and our brothers and all of our tribe. We declare solemnly as our father ordered us, with the help of God to remain firmly attached to our religion, to be vigilant, to ameliorate the conditions of our tribe and our country, to act according to justice and equity, and, acting to reinforce the old ties of friendship which bound our country to England, to remain faithful forever to her friendship. We pray God, the All-Merciful and All-Powerful, to protect, guide, and help us."

The realities of war were brought home to Bahrein by price control and rationing system. The Government bought and imported all food supplies for the population, shops were opened in towns and in villages for rationed goods, and the queue system introduced.

There occurred a shortage of rice, staff food of the population, due to the drastic reduction of shipping facilities and the loss to the Japanese of Burma, Indo China and other producing centers. Rice was replaced by wheat, and as a result there was vast discontent among the population.

The black market flourished, and smuggling was rampant, Goods whose export was forbidden, were smuggled out of the country. At one time a bag of sugar could be bought in Bahrein for about 80 rupees; opposite on the Persian Coast, the same bag would be sold for 800 rupees. Motor tires were sold at fabulous prices in Persia and Iraq, and tea was a profitable commodity for smugglers.

722
228
The pearl industry flourished, although the fleets of diving boats were smaller because many divers preferred to earn money on the shore, and high prices were obtained for pearls in India, where people invested money in precious stones. No European

buyers visited the Gulf, and few, if any pearls were sent to 722 228
Europe.

Owing to important developments in the Bahrein oil industry 722
and war time public works, there was a great demand for labour. Not only manual labourers and skilled men, but any young Arabs with slight education could obtain well paid posts.

Many Bahreini invested their money in gardens and house property which resulted in a land boom. Axis broadcasts were forbidden in public places but most people listened to them in their houses.

To prevent any disturbances, very strong security measures were taken, and the police force numbered some 700 people.

The population sympathized with the Arabs of Palestine in 648
their resistance to Jewish immigration, and in Bahrein, serious 722
rioting broke out in answer to American stands concerning the partition of the Holy Land. Manama synagogue and scores of Jewish shops were wrecked and the Jews were beaten. At the same time, posters appeared on the streets at night denouncing Americans as the "foreigners who steal our oil."

To forestall any trouble, a Military Government was declared in Bahrein, and extraordinary precautions taken. These measures were resented by the Bahreini who complained to Persia.

The old quarrel over the ownership of Bahrein was revived, 648
and the Cabinet decided on April 18, 1946, to charge taxes and 651
royalties on oil entering Iran from Bahrein. The tax was fixed at $.80 a barrel, plus 20% of the annual net revenue of the Company, that is, the equivalent of the tax collected on the production of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran.

At the end of 1947, a delegation from Bahrein arrived in Teheran. The delegation was headed by a very prominent Sheik who was to represent Bahrein at the Iranian Parliament. He was received in a secret session of the Parliament, but as he was not duly elected, according to Persian election laws, it was decided that Majlis could not take any step in regard to its admission. In the session of April 15, 1948, the Parliament

648 voted unanimouly to place at the head of its agenda, a bill to assert Iranian sovereignty over Bahrein.

The Iranian authorities announced that telegrams and letters for Bahrein would be dispatched at domestic rates, as the Islands are part of Iranian national territory.

648
471 To complicate the matter, there was talk of partnership between the English and American oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

The question of participation of Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey in the holdings of Arabian Oil Company, and the building of the Tap Line, were under consideration.

000 Then there emerged an entirely new problem. On October 2, 1945, President Truman issued a presidential proclimation, that whatever may be under the waters of the Gulf of Mexico to the continental shelf "appertains" to the United States.

His precedent was the exploitation of the guano deposits of the Navassa Island, which since 1804 had legally belonged to Haiti. The United States, however, over the protest of the Haitian government, declared that Navassa "appertained" to the United States.

This was to extend the control by the coastal states over submarine areas beneath the high seas and outside of territorial waters.

648
471 The Iranian Government in a draft legislation submitted to the Parliament on May 19, 1949, affirmed the intention to extend Iranian sovereignty to the Continental Shelf in the Persian Gulf.

On May 28, the Saudi Arabian Government also pronounced, although on somewhat different theory, on a concept of contiguity, its claim over the waters of the Persian Gulf. This was followed on June 5, 1949, by a proclamation by the Sheik of Bahrein that the "sea bed and sub-soil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrein and extending seaward," . . . belong to the country of Bahrein, and are subject to absolute authority and jurisdiction."

1

However, the limit was to be determined "after consultation with the neighboring governments," . . . with the principles of justice, when occasion so requires." 648 471

Soon afterwards, the Bahrein action was followed by proclamations of six other Sheikdoms along the Trucial coast, in substance similar to that of Bahrein.

Since then, the extraction of oil and other minerals from the bottom of the sea, has become a relatively easy every day operation. 000

At present, there are several wells operating in the Gulf of Mexico at distances of ten to forty miles from the American mainland, and at various depths. Therefore, the legal problems created by these proclamations have more than academic interest.

The islands and subsoil of the Persian Gulf have been classified as Zone 8, in the Operational Agenda plans of the Iranian Oil Company, which is a nationally owned company. 648 471

On the other hand, the Arabian Oil Co. and the Bahrein Petroleum Co. are exploiting Saudi Arabian and Bahrein oil. It is obvious that the two interests are working in opposite directions.

By the signing of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement, the two Governments are acting jointly, and the partnership of the Anglo-Iranian "oil deal" has united the interests of the two Governments.

However, to the eyes of Persians, Bahrein constitutes a "terra iredenta", and the Persian Government naturally resents any attempt to neglect its claim over Bahrein which it considers an integral part of its national territory. 648

In the last three years, Persia has proclaimed this attitude three times.

On April 2, 1949, the International Postal Union, in a circular, represented Bahrein among its adherents. Persia protested, and affirmed that it would continue to consider Post Office in Bahrein as an office in the territory of Persia.

648 In its reply, the International Postal Union declared that the Post Office in Bahrein is working only under the supervision of the British mail office, and that this working procedure had no political implications concerning the ownership of said territories.

In November and December 1949, a meeting of Economic Conference of Asian Nations was held in Karachi, Pakistan. The host state invited Bahrein to send a representative, but the Iranian Government protested to Pakistan, and asserted that it would not participate in the conference if Bahrein, which is an integral part of Persia, were invited separately. The invitation sent to Bahrein was then called off, and Iran attended the meeting.

Still more recently in August 1950, at the Regional Conference of the World Health Organization held in Constantinople, Persian attitude was the same, and Bahrein was not invited to attend the conference.

Over this clash of interests between Persia on one side, and England backed by the United States, comes the shadow of the Russian Bear. The aim of Russian policy to reach the Persian Gulf is an open secret.

On October 13, 1940, just after the signing of the Tripartite Pact by Germany, Italy, and Japan, Russia was invited to become a fourth member. Ribbentrop wrote to Stalin, inviting Molotov to Berlin for a discussion of foreign policy, and Molotov arrived the middle of November. After some preliminary discussion, an agreement was drawn up providing, among other things, that Russia's slice of territory should lie "to the South of the territory of the Soviet Republics in the direction of the Indian Ocean." This was subsequently amended to give Russia specifically "the area south of Baku and Batum in the direction of the Persian Gulf." After the outbreak of the war, Berlin sounded out Moscow to see if a separate peace would be possible, and Russia, in a note, created the impression in Berlin that it would be, if Germany met certain stiff demands; among these was the Russian expansion south and east to Gwadar.

Supposedly because the Germans considered the demands too great, the negotiations fell through. 648

According to Cordell Hull, before going to the Moscow Conference, President Roosevelt felt that the Baltic passages—Kiel and the straits might each be set up as a free zone under international trustees, and that a similar zone might be ararnged for Russia to the Persian Gulf.

Many waters have passed under the bridge since 1943; with open antagonism between the United States and Russia following the Cold War, and with the chance of open hostilities, the importance of the Persian Gulf as a strategic area has been brought to light.

In case of war, the American oil holdings in Saudi Arabia, and the Anglo-Iranian Company installations in Southern Persia, would be the first targets of an eventual enemy.

The American military air base of Dhahran in Saudi Arabia [712] would be of no value without the English naval military bases on Bahrein Island.

In short, the future of Bahrein will no doubt prove as complex as its past, but let us hope that wisdom will prevail; that the peace which is no doubt everybody's desire will be accomplished; and that a happy solution, satisfactory to all concerned, may be established.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdar Razzaq, Ma'athir Sultani. Tabriz, 1826. (Persian).

Badger, G. P., History of the Imams and Seyyads of Oman. London, 1870.

Bahrani, Y., Luluatul Bahrein. Bombay, S.D. (Arabic).

Bayundur, Khaliji Fars. Teheran, 1939. 2 Vols. (Persian).

Belgrave, Bahrein. In: Central Asian Soc. Journal, London, 1928.

— —, The Portuguese in the Bahrein Island. In: Journal Royal Central Asian Soc. XXII, 1935.

Bellan, Chah Abbas 1er. Paris, 1930.

Bent, J. T., The Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf. Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc., 1890.

Bennett, The Past and Present Connection of England with the Persian Gulf. Journal, Society of Arts, 1902.

Bleiber, F., Die Bahrein Inseln. In: Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik 6 (1929), S. 988 ff.

Boehm, Sir E., The Persian Gulf and South Sea Isles. London, 1904.

Bruce, Annals of the Honorable East India Company. 3 Vols., 1810.

Brydges, Sir H. J., An Account of the Transactions of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1807-1811. 2 Vols., London, 1834.

Carruthers, Douglas, Captain Shakespear's Last Journey. In Geog. Journal. LIX.

Cheesman, In Unknown Arabia. London, 1926.

Constable, Account of the Physical Geography of the Persian Gulf. Trans. Bombay Geogr. Society, 1859.

Cornwall, P. B., The Tumuli of Bahrein. Asia and the Americas. Vol. XLIII, 1943.

Crespin, Le Golfe Persique au point de vue sanitaire, commercial et diplomatique. In: Societé de Géographie de Marseille, Tome 26, 1902.

Curzon, G. N., Persia and the Persian Question. 2 Vols., London, 1892.

Danvers, The Persian Gulf Route and Commerce. In: Asiatic Quat. Review, London, 1888.

Durand, Extracts from report on the islands and antiquities of Bahrein. With notes by H. C. Rawlinson. In: Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal, London, 1880.

Faroughy, A., Histoire du Royaume de Hormuz (c. 1000-1622). University of Brussels, 1949.

Fasai, Athar-i-'Ajam, Bobbay, 1896. (Persian).

Fasai, Farsnamah-i-Nasiri. Teheran, 1897. (Persian).

Firouz, Le Sultanat d'Oman. Paris, 1914.

Gardanne, Mission du General Gardanne en Perse. Paris, 1865.

Gaury, Arabia Phoenix, London, 1946.

Gooch, G. P., British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. London, 1926-29, Vol. IV.

Gooch, G. P., Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy.

Garakānī, Naft u Murvarid. Teheran, 1947. (Persian).

Hakki Bey Tewfik, Die Bahrein Inseln. In: Zeitschrift Fur Geopolitik, 9 (1932), S. 408 FF.

Hantschell, Englands Schatten uber dem Persischen Golf. Berlin, 1941.

Harrison, Economic and Social Conditions in East Arabia. In: Moslem World, London, 1924.

Hasan Khan, Mir'at ul Buldan, Teheran, 1880. (Persian).

— —, Muntazam-i-Nāsirī. 3 Vol. Teheran, 1883 (Persian).

Hidayat, Rauzat-us-Safa. 3 Vols., Teheran, 1853-6. (Persian).

Iqbal, A., Bahrein Va Jazāir Va Savahi-Khaliji Fars. Teheran, 1950. (Persian).

Iskandar, Munshi, Tarikhi 'Alam Ara i 'Abbasi. Teheran, 1897. (Persian).

Juwaini, Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha. G. M. S. XVI, London, 1912. (Persian).

Kababi, M. A., Al Manas Fil Qaus wal-Qawas. Teheran, 1890. (Persian).

— —, Tarikhi Bahrein. S. D. (Persian).

Khurmuji, Nuzhat-ul-Akhbar. Teheran, 1867. (Persian).

Khurmuji, Athar-i-Ja'fari. Teheran, 1860. (Persian).

Lewis, Handbook of Diplomatic and Political Arabic. London, 1917.

Lindt, Politics in the Persian Gulf. In: Royal Central Asian Soc. Journal, London, 1939.

Lockhardt, The Iranian Campaigns in Oman. (British Sch. of Orient, Study), London, 1934.

Londres, Pecheurs De Perles. Paris, 1931.

Mackay, Bahrein and Hemamieh. British School of Archaeology in Egypt. London, 1929.

Malek Ismaili, Le Golfe Persique et les iles de Bahrein. Paris, 1936.

Mehdi Khan, Jahan Gushai Naderi. Bombay, 1875. (Persian).

— —, Durrah-i-Naderi. Bombay, 1876. (Persian).

McCarthy, M. M., Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Persia. Buffalo University Press, 1925, pamphlet.

McIvor, Notes on Sea Fishing in the Persian Gulf. Persian Gulf Political Residency Administration Report for 1880-81.

Miles, S. B., The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf. 2 Vols., London, 1919.

Muhammad, Ali Khan, Mafātīh-ul-Adab. Teheran. (Persia).

Muhammed ibn Khalifah, At Tuhfat-un-Nubhaniyah, Bagdad, 1914. (Arabic).

O'Shea, F. B., Memorandum on the British Indian Post Office in the Persian Gulf and Turkish Arabia, 1888. Revised by F. Whymper, 1905.

O'Shea, Raymond, The Sand Kings of Oman. London, 1947.

Palgrave, Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63). London and Cambridge, 1866.

Pelly, Lt. Col. L., Remarks on the Tribes, Trade and Resources Around the Shoreline of the Persian Gulf. Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc. XVII and Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. XIII, 1863-64.

— —, Notes on Certain Questions Relative to the Interior of Arabia. Royal-Geogr. Society Journal. 1865.

— —, Remarks on the Oyster Beds in the Persian Gulf. Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal, 1868.

Phillips, C. H., The East India Co., 1784-1834. Manchester University Press, 1940.

Pilgrim, The Geology of the Persian Gulf and the Adjoining Portion of Persia and Arabia. Memoirs Geol. Survey of India Vol. [illegible]XIV, 1908.

Pirdeaux, The Sepulchral Tumuli of Bahrain. In: India Archaeological Survey. Annual Report, 1908-9 Part II.

Rashid ibn Fazil, Majari-ul-Hidāyah. Bahrein, 1922 (Arabic).

Rawlinson, H., England and Russia in the East. London, 1912.

Rihani, A., Muluk ul'Arab. 2 Vols. Beirut, 1925. (Arabic).

— —, Around the Coasts of Arabia. London, 1930.

Rouire, La Rivalité Anglo-Rousse au 19° siecle en Asie, Golfe Persique Frontire de l'Inde. Paris, 1908.

Saldanha, Selections from State Papers, Bombay, regarding the East India Company's Connection with the Persian Gulf, 1600-1800. 1908.

Schmidt, Bahrein. In: Abhandlungen der Deutshen Gesellschaft fur Wehrpolitik und Wehrwisenschaften, Jg. 1941, 8. Folge. (11).

Schott, Geographie der Persischen Golfes und Seiner Randgebiete. In: Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg. Band XXXI. Hamburg, 1918.

Shīrvānī, Bustān us-Sīyāhah. Teheran. 1831-2. (Persian).

Steiner, M. J., Inside Pan-Arabia. Chicago, 1947.

Sitffe, Capt. A. W., Ancient Trading Centers of the Persian Gulf, (VII) Bahrein. In: Geog. Journal. 1901.

— —, Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf. Geog. Journal IX, 1897.

Taqi Khan, Ganj-i-Danish. Teheran, 1887. (Persian).

Vadala, Le Golfe Persique. Paris, 1920.

Wassaf, Tarikh. Bombay, 1853. (Persian).

Whish, Memoir on Bahreyn. Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc. 1860-62.

Whitelock, F., Descriptive Sketch of the Islands and Coast Situated at the Entrance of the Persian Gulf. Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc. 1836-38.

— —, An Account of the Arabs who Inhabit the Coast . . ., Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc., 1836-8.

Wilson, Col. D., Memorandum Respecting the Pearl Fisheries of the Persian Gulf. Journal Roy. Geog. Soc. III, 1833.

Wilson, A. T., The Persian Gulf, Oxford, 1928.

Winnett, F. V., A Himyaritic Inscription from the Persian Gulf Region. In: Bull. Amer. Sch. Orient. Research.

OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Confidential Memorandum on British Policy in Persia.

Diplomatic and Consular Report Annual. (Report on the Trade of Bahrein Island).

Durand, Description of the Bahrein Islands. In: Report on the Administration of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Mascat for the year 1878-9.

Gazeteer of the Bombay Presidency.

Great Britain. Foreign Office, Historical Sect. Persian Gulf.

Great Britain. Foreign Office, State Papers.

Great Britain. Overseas Trade Dept. Economic Conditions in the Persian Gulf.

Great Britain. Persian Gulf Administration Reports.

Parliamentary Papers, Persia, No. 1 (1908); Nos. 1 and 2 (1909); No. 1 (1911) 1 Nos. 1-5 (1912); Nos. 1 and 2 (1913); No. 1 (1914.

Selection from the Records of Government of India.

Saldanha, Précis of Correspondence Regarding the Affairs of the Persian Gulf. 1801-1853.

Saldanha, Précis of Correspondence regarding the Trucial Chiefs, 1854.1905.

S. D. N. Official Publication.

MANUSCRIPT

At the India Office

A. *East India Co.*

Political and Secret "General Correspondence." 1831-58. 20 Vols.

Secret Committee and Board's Drafts and Correspondence 1804-39. 8 Vols. 1781-1858. Board's drafts of Secret Letters to India. 23 Vols.

B. *Board of Control.*

Minutes of the Board. 1784-1836.

Secret Miscellany Book, 1807-58. 1 Vol.

NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS

New York Times
London Times
Oil and Gas Journal
Petroleum Times
Middle East Journal
Oriente Moderno
Asie Francaise
Bombay Chronicle
Oil Journal
World Petroleum

HANDBOOKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS ETC.

113

Encyclopedia Britannica
Encyclopedia of Islam
Handbook of Arabia. (British Admiralty)
New Statesman and Nation Year Book
The Persian Gulf Pilot

TREATIES

Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements Sanads, etc. Vol. XI, Fifth Edition, Delhi, 1933.
Herstlet, Treaties etc. concluded between Great Britain and Persia, 1891.

APPENDIX

I

Translation of Agreement signed by the Chief of Bahrein, dated December 22, 1880.

I, Isa bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government.

This engagement does not apply to nor affect the customary friendly correspondence with the local authorities of neighboring States on business of minor importance.

The above agreement is subject to the approval and acceptance of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council.

Isa Bin Ali
Ahmad Bin Ali

Signed and sealed at Bahrein on the twenty-second day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty in my presence.

E. C. Ross, Lieut.-Col.,
Political Resident, Persian Gulf

The above Agreement was accepted and ratified by Her Britannic Majesty's Government in 1881.

E. C. Ross, Lieut.-Col.,
Political Resident, Persian Gulf

II

Exclusive Agreement of the Sheik of Bahrein with the British Government, March 13, 1892.

I, Esau Isā bin Ali, Chief of Bahrein, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Talbot, C.I.E. Political Resident, Persian Gulf, do hereby solemnly bind myself and agree, on behalf of myself, my heirs and successors, to the following conditions, viz.:

1st, That I will on no account enter into any agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British Government.

648 2nd, That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.

3rd, That I will on no account cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.
Dated Bahrein, 13 March 1892, corresponding with 14th Shaaban, 1309.

Esau bin Ali
Chief of Bahrein

A. C. Talbot, Lieut.-Col.
Resident, Persian Gulf

Lansdowne
Viceroy and Gov. Gl. of India

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on the twelfth day of May, 1892.

H. M. Durand
Secretary to the Gov't. of India, Foreign Dept.

III

Undertaking by the Sheik of Bahrein, regarding oil, 1914. (Translation of a letter dated the 18th of Jamadi II, 1332 (May 14, 1914) from Sheik Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, to Major A. P. Trevor, C.I.E., Political Agent, Bahrein):

I have received your esteemed letter No. 531, dated the 18th Jamadi II 1332 (May 14, 1914), on the subject of the possibility of obtaining kerosene oil in Bahrein. Just as I informed your honor in my letter, dated the 17th Jamadi-us-sani 1332, when the time comes for obtaining it I will certainly consult the Political Agency. I do hereby repeat to you that if there is any prospect of obtaining kerosene oil in my territory, I will not embark on the exploitation of it myself and will not entertain overtures from any quarter regarding it without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without the approval of the High Government.

This is what had to be said. May you be preserved and salams.

IV

641 Bahrein Nationality Law

ARTICLE I.

The following are considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) All persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law except as provided for in Article II.

(b) Persons born abroad before or after the date of this Law whose fathers or paternal grandfathers were born in Bahrein, except persons whose fathers during the minority of such persons registered at the Political Agency in Bahrein in accordance with Article II or might have so registered if resident in Bahrein.

ARTICLE II.

Persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law whose fathers at the time of those persons' birth possessed the nationality of another State shall not be considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date on which they attain the age of 18, if then resident in Bahrein, or within one year of the date of the commencement of the residence in Bahrein if not then resident in Bahrein; or

(b) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date of the Promulgation of this Law if they have already attained the age of 18 and are resident in Bahrein; or

(c) if they shall have been registered at the Political Agency within two years of their birth or if their birth shall have been registered within two years of its occurrence.

ARTICLE III.

A person who possesses Bahrein nationality shall lose it:

(a) if he voluntarily acquires by naturalization the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrein nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrein, either on application of that person or *proprio motu;*

(b) if he also possesses the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrein nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrein on the application of that person.

ARTICLE IV.

(1) A woman who marries a Bahrein national shall acquire Bahrein nationality and a woman of Bahrein nationality who marries a foreigner shall lose Bahrein nationality if and when she acquires the nationality of her husband but not otherwise.

(2) A woman who has acquired Bahrein nationality by marriage shall lose it when divorced or a widow if she acquires or possesses another nationality. Bahrein nationality may be restored to her by an order of the Ruler of Bahrein given on her application.

ARTICLE V.

The Ruler of Bahrein may grant Bahrein nationality to any person resident in Bahrein who applies for it and may subsequently cancel the grant if such persons ceases to reside in Bahrein.

Bahrein, 17 February, 1937

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

V

648 Bahrain Government* Proclamation No. 37/1368, June 5, 1949

TO WHOME IT MAY CONCERN:

WHEREAS it is desirable to encourage any efforts to facilitate the derivation of greater benefit from the natural resources of the earth, and

WHEREAS valuable resources exist beneath parts of the Persian Gulf near the shores of Bahrain, and it has become possible to derive increasing benefit from these submarine resources, and

WHEREAS it is desirable, for the purposes of conservation, preservation, and orderly development, that extraction of these resources shall be regulated as necessity dictates, and

WHEREAS it is just that the sea bed and the subsoil extending a reasonable distance from the shore should belong to and be administered by the government of the adjacent coast, and

WHEREAS the right of any coastal government to exercise its sovereignty over the natural resources of the sea bed and the subsoil in the vicinity of its shores has been established by international practice through the action taken by other governments,

ACCORDINGLY, WE, SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH, Ruler of Bahrain, by virtue of the powers vested in us in this respect, are pleased to issue hereby the following proclamation:

WE, SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH, Ruler of Bahrain, hereby declare that the sea bed and the subsoil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrain and extending seaward as far as limits that we, after consultation with the neighboring governments, shall determine more accurately in accordance with the principles of justice, when the occasion so requires, belong to the country of Bahrain and are subject to its absolute authority and jurisdiction.

There is nothing in this proclamation that may be interpreted as affecting dominion over the islands or the status of the sea bed and the subsoil underlying any territorial waters.

There is nothing in this proclamation that may be interpreted as affecting the character of the high seas in the waters of the Persian Gulf over-lying the sea bed and beyond the limits of the territorial waters, or the status of the air space above the waters of the Persian Gulf beyond the territorial waters, or fishing, or the traditional rights of pearling in these waters.

SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH
Ruler of Bahrain

---

* From The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 43, Oct. 1939.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

INDEX

000

Abdallah, Sheik, 48-49, 73, 74, 76, 81, 83
Al i'Ali tribe, 92-93
Al Jalahimah, 70, 71
Al Kahalifah, 48-49, 70-72; SEE ALSO: Utub, the
Anglo Iranian Oil Company, 113
Arabian Oil Co., 114-115
Bahrein Islands, the; areas of settlement, 19-26; Bahrein-U. S. Trade, 41-42; climatic data, 15-18; economy of, 29-30; education in, 28-29; fishing, 38-40; genealogy of Sheiks of Bahrein, 48-49; history of, 52-117; pearl fishing, 30-38; petroleum, 42-45; physical, 13-15; population, 18-19; transit shipments, 40-41; SEE ALSO: Great Britain; Persia; Portuguese; Turkey; France
Bahrein Petroleum Co., 20, 22, 41, 42-45, 103-105, 106, 107, 111, 115; SEE ALSO: Petroleum
Bahrein-U. S. Trade, 41-42; SEE ALSO: table 7, p. 42.
Beni Kaisar dynasty, 58; SEE ALSO: Kish
Caltex, (defined), 107
Dawasir, 18, 21, 96; SEE ALSO: Population tables, pp. 18, 19
Date industry, 29, 30, 40, 108; centers of: 21, 22, 24, 25; SEE table 6, p. 41 (Imports)
Dutch, 64, 65, 68
Eastern Gulf Co., 104
East India Co., 66, 67, 74, 77
Economy of Bahrein, 29-30; SEE ALSO: Bahrein-U. S. Trade; Fishing; Pearl Fishing; Petroleum; Transit Shipments
Education, 28
El Bida, 83, 90, 96
Exports, SEE ALSO: Bahrein - U. S. Trade; Transit Shipments; Table 6, p. 41
Fars, 54, 60, 72
Fishing, 29-32
France, 65-67, 75, 76; Franco-Persian negotiations, 86-87
Great Britain, *8, 9, 64, 65, 73, 74,* 75, 78, 79, 85-89, 92-94, 98-99, 104, 106, 107, 115, 117; Agreement with Sheik Isa, 90; Anglo-Persian differences, 102-103; 105, 110, 111, 112; Anglo-Turkish differences, 96; Bahrein Order in Council 1913, 100-101; Convention of 1913, 96-97, 98-99; "Exclusive Agreement" 1892, 91; Flag Treaty, 80-81; Importance of Persian Gulf and Bahrein to, 77, 78; Treaties with Persia, 76-77; Treaty 1861, 84; Treaty of Commerce 1935, 108; War with Persia, 82, 83
Hajar, 7, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57
Hamad, Sheik, 48-49, 100, 102, 109, 111, 112
Hasa, 18, 54, 57, 87, 97
Hormuz, 59, 60-64, 91; Portuguese domination of, 60-64
Ibn Saud, 96, 97, 102, 109
Imam of Mascat, 64, 66-67, 72-75, 78-79, 81; SEE ALSO: Mascat
Import, SEE: Transit Shipments; Table 6, p. 41
International Postal Union, 47, 115
Iranian Oil Co., 115
Isa, Sheik, 28, 40, 45, 48-49, 53, 57, 107
Jabbara, Sheik, 67, 68
Jews, 19, 59, 113
Karmats, Rise and fall of, 57-58
Kish, (or Qais) island, 58-61
Khark, (island of), 76-77, 81, 82, 86
Koweit, 69, 70, 104, 107
League of Nations, 102, 105, 106, 110
Manama, 18, 19-21, 86, 107, 110, 113; SEE ALSO: Petroleum; Pearl Fishing
Mascat, 64, 65, 66, 73, SEE ALSO; Imam of Mascat
Muhammad ibn Abdallah, 48-49, 83, 84, 85, 86
Muhammad ibn Khalifah, 48-49, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86; Treaty with Great Britain 1861, 84
Muharraq Island, 22, 25; City of: 18, 19, 20, 24, 29
Nasir, 64, 68, 74
Nasir ibn Mubarak, 88, 89, 90
Nejd, 18, 40, 97, 98, 99
Oman, 55, 57-58, 61, 64, 66-68
Pearls, 7, 30-38, 41, 58, 67, 91, 94, 112, 113; SEE ALSO: Pearl Fishing; Table 6, p. 41 (Export of: 1941-1947)
Pearl Fishing, 18, 30-38, 59, 94, 97; Centers of: 19, 21, 24
Petroleum, 8, 9, 19, 103-107, 111, 113, 115; Development of

000

Petroleum (cont) industry, 42-45; "Oil City", 22-23
Persia, 8, 9, 40, 52-54, 58, 61, 63-64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71-74, 76-77, 84-87, 89-91, 94, 95-96, 98-99, 111, 112; Anglo-Persian differences, 102-103, 105, 110; War with England, 82, 83; War with Russia, 81; Protests for Iranian sovereignty over Bahrein 1946-1950, 113-117
Persian Gulf, the, 7, 8, 14, 58, 65, 79, 80, 83-84, 94, 97, 98, 107-109, 114-115, 116; Domination by Portuguese of, 61-64; Importance to Great Britain of, 77-78
Piracy, 65, 79; SEE ALSO: Persian Gulf, the
Portuguese, the, 7, 8, 61-64, 66-67; Domination in Gulf, 61-64
Qasim, 87, 88, 90
Qatar, 83, 85, 87, 89, 92, 94, 96, 97; Qatar Peninsula, 7, 14
Qatif, 18, 40, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 82, 93
Russia, 76, 77, 90, 91, 116 ,117; War with Persia, 81
Salman, Sheik, 48-49, 73, 74, 75, 80, 81
Salman, Sheik, 48-49, 109, 111, 112
Saudi Arabia, 18, 40, 45, 52-54, 108-110, 114, 115, 117, 121; Reaction to Palestine question in Bahrein, 113
Sheiks of Bahrein, SEE: Genealogy of Sheiks of Bahrein, 48-49
Socony Vacuum, 114
Standard Oil Co., 15, 19, 20, 43, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 114; Oil holdings in Bahrein, 42
Sultan ibn Salamah, 92, 93; SEE ALSO: Al i'Ali tribe
Texas Corp., the, 42, 106, 107
Transit Shipments, 40-41; SEE ALSO: Bahrein-U. S. Trade
Turkey, 18, 61, 87-89, 92,, 93; Anglo-Turkish Relations, 96-97
Turkish Petroleum Co., 104
United States, the, 41, 42, 106, 113, 114; SEE ALSO: Bahrein-U. S. Trade; Bahrein Petroleum Co.
Utub, the 18, 19, 69-73, 74
Wahhabi, the, 73, 74, 81, 82, 85
Yemen, 52, 53, 55, 109
Zobara, 69, 71, 73, 88-90, 92, 94